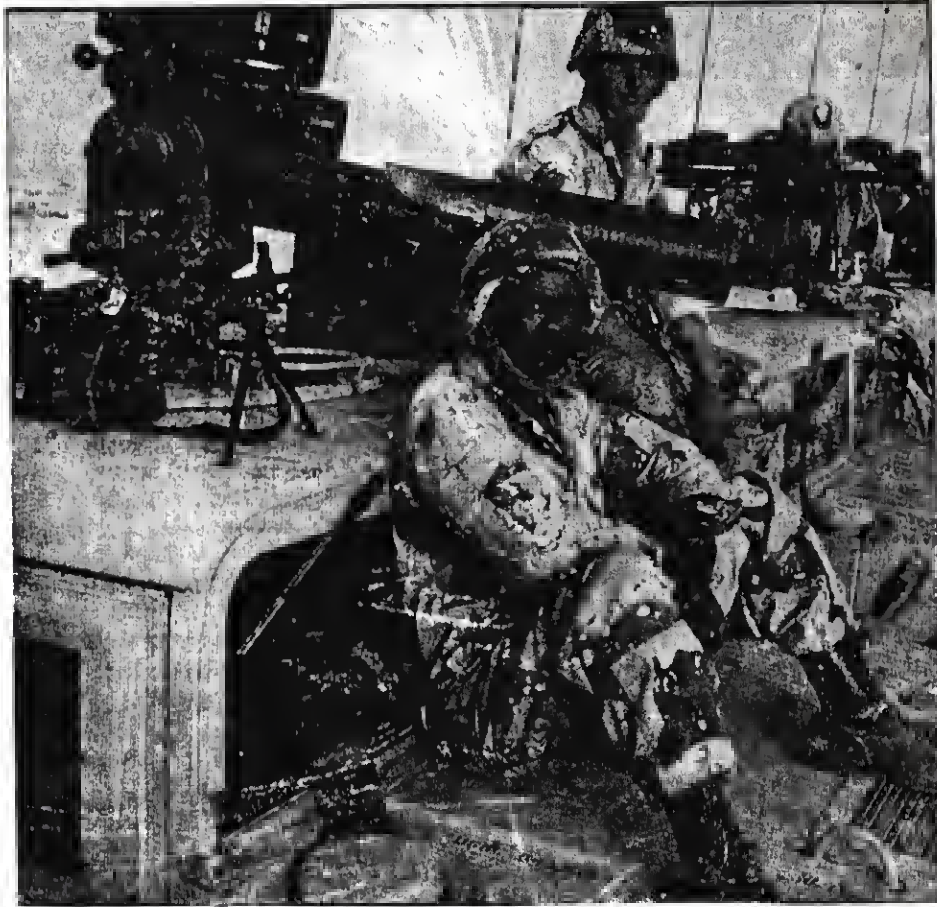


IRAQ and KUWAIT: A HISTORY SUPPRESSED



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by Ralph Schoenman

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By Ralph Schoenman

About the Author

Ralph Schoenman was Executive Director of the Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation. He helped secure the release of political prisoners in many countries and initiated the International Tribunal on U.S. War Crimes in Indo-China, of which he was Secretary General.

Long active in political life, he initiated the Committee of 100 which organized civil disobedience against nuclear weapons and U.S. bases in Great Britain. He was founder and Director of the Vietnam Solidarity Campaign and director of the Who Killed Kennedy Committee.

He has been a leader of the Committee for Artistic and Intellectual Freedom in Iran, Co-Director of the Committee in Defense of the Palestinian and Lebanese Peoples, and Executive Director of the Palestine Campaign, as well as American Workers and Artists for Solidarity. He was a member of the steering committee of The Permanent Committee Against War and Exploitation, formed by delegates from fifty-three countries to the Open World Conference for a Workers International held in Barcelona, Spain in January 1991.

Ralph Schoenman is Executive Director of the Council on Human Needs which includes among its activities actions on behalf of Mumia Abu Jamal and young African-American prisoners. He is a U.S. representative of the International Committee Against Repression.

His books include *Bertrand Russell: Philosopher of the Century*; *Death and Pillage in the Congo: A Study of Western Rule*, which was co-authored with Khalid Ahmed Zaki; *Prisoners of Israel and Homage to Palestine*, written with Mya Shone; and *The Hidden History of Zionism*. He was a regular contributor to *The Organizer*, a monthly newspaper published by Socialist Organizer.



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Iraq and Kuwait: A History Suppressed

By Ralph Schoenman

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British colonial troops during World War I

U.S. troops in Saudi Arabia (Bill Gentile, Newsweek)

Publisher's Note

This is a second, expanded edition of "Iraq and Kuwait: A History Suppressed" by Ralph Schoenman. The first edition was published by Veritas Press in February 1991 and included the three-part article of that name written by Ralph Schoenman in October 1990.

This second edition also includes a series of articles by Ralph Schoenman printed in *The Organizer*, a monthly newspaper published by Socialist Organizer.

"Deceiving the American People: The Hidden Story of the Gulf War" was published originally in the March/April Inaugural Edition of *The Organizer*. It provides a harrowing account of the U.S. devastation of the Iraqi people and the political motivation for this action.

"Blood on Their Hands: The Continuing U.S. War in the Middle East," published in the May 1991 edition of *The Organizer*, analyzes the long legacy of betrayal of the Kurdish people.

"The Ongoing War Against the Palestinian People," published in the July/August 1991 edition of *The Organizer*, has as its focus the impact of the Gulf War on the Palestinian people.

The final piece in this second edition, "The Gulf War One Year Later: Who Are the Real Criminals?," is an abridged transcription of a lecture by Ralph Schoenman presented at St. Johns University in Collegeville, Minn., on April 2, 1992. It first appeared in print in the May 1992 issue of *The Organizer*.

The first edition of "Iraq and Kuwait: A History Suppressed" was published in Arabic. An abbreviated version was published in French and distributed in Belgium and France. Excerpts of the pamphlet were published in newspapers in Algeria, France, Brazil and throughout the United States.

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— Part 1 —

Although the official version of events presents Iraq's occupation of Kuwait as an arbitrary and unwarranted aggression, the relationship between Iraq and its former southern district is the centerpiece of Arab national resistance to British colonial rule in the Gulf. Little is known of the popular struggle, not only from within Iraq but within Kuwait itself, to re-unite Kuwait with Iraq, and to prevent, thereby, the deliberate fragmentation of Iraqi territory, first by Britain and later by the United States.

Ironically, the regimes installed by British colonialism itself under direct British military control, could not be coerced successfully into accepting the amputation of Kuwait. This was due partly to the importance of its resources but also because local Arab nationalists among indigenous students, workers and, frequently, even the traditional rulers themselves, resented the naked exploitation of the foreign oil companies. The population of the Kuwaiti district, no less than the inhabitants of the rest of Iraq, viewed the detachment of the coastal region of Iraq as a naked attempt by imperial states to weaken and dominate the Iraqi people as a whole.

The entire period during which Kuwait has been separated from Iraq has been marked by resistance from every successive Iraqi government and, notably, from national and student movements within Kuwait itself. It is a history well known to the inhabitants of the Gulf, but scarcely mentioned in the West, even in scholarly work. What follows is a glimpse into a little known chapter of the popular resistance to imperialism which has characterized the Gulf continuously since the 1890s.

The Early History

Mesopotamia, was for millennia a political center, the site for a plethora of states. That part of it now called Iraq has, throughout its long history, been a maritime nation and renowned as a center of commerce.

The small village which evolved over two centuries on the Persian (Arab) Gulf was named Kuwait by Iraqi rulers of the day, a designation meaning "small human settlement." Throughout the nineteenth century and up to World War I, Kuwait was a "Qadha," a district within the "Liwa" or province of Basra, an integral part of Iraq under the administrative law of the Ottoman state which ruled the Arab nation.

In 1897, the Wali (governor) of Basra, Mushin Pasha, advised the local village sheikh, Mubarak as-Sabah, of a decision by the sultan to

appoint him "Qa'immaqam" (prefect) of the Kuwait district of Basra Province. The reasons for giving this administrative role to a relatively obscure local sheikh are instructive.

In the process of consolidating its hold over India, British imperialism sought to weaken all important countries of the region and was determined to extend its colonial control over the Gulf, whose strategic importance lay in the British plan to dismember the Ottoman Empire.

Its strategy entailed securing control of the coast and detaching trade routes and access to the sea from Arab lands under Ottoman rule. This design was fueled by the awareness of huge oil reserves in the region, the importance of which as a commodity was an increasing factor in the thinking of the British Colonial Office.

Muhammad and Jarrah as-Sabah, the two elder brothers of Sheikh Mubarak, were approached by the British to act as direct British agents and to detach the coastal area from Ottoman control. They were to turn the Kuwaiti district into a dependent and distinct colony, for which service they were to be rewarded. Both men refused, but when they went further and sought to organize resistance to these designs, Britain arranged their murder by their younger brother, the sheikh.

To counter the British scheme, the Ottoman sultan made the sheikh a better offer, i.e. the position of prefect, thereby obviating the need to confront Britain militarily.

The British persisted. In 1898, Sheikh Mubarak as-Sabah was induced, under threat, to sign a secret accord placing himself under British "protection." He had no authority to sign agreements and when the Ottoman Sultan confronted him in 1901, he renounced the coerced accord with the British.

For the next fifteen years, Britain conspired to break up the Ottoman Empire, consolidating its control of the Kuwait district. This colonial pursuit was consummated in the Sykes-Picot Treaty of May 9-16, 1916.

On November 9, 1918, a joint Franco-British Declaration called for "the complete and final liberation of the peoples so long oppressed by the Turks and the establishment of national governments and administrations deriving their authority from the initiative and free choice of the native populations."

France and Great Britain undertook "to encourage and assist the establishment of native governments and administrations in Syria and Mesopotamia ... and have agreed to recognize such governments as soon as they are effectively established."

On April 24, 1920, the Conference of Allied Powers at San Remo entrusted Great Britain with the Mandate for Palestine. The San Remo Agreements also created an international oil consortium to "prosper for oil in the territory of the former Ottoman Empire. Ninety-five per-

infra-structure of what had once been a rather highly urbanized and mechanized society. Most means of modern life support now have been destroyed or rendered tenuous and Iraq has been rendered for some time to come a country in a pre-industrial age but with all the disabilities of post-industrial dependency on energy and technology."

United Nations Report S/22366 describes:

• Indiscriminate incineration through fuel-air bombs and weapons which have obliterated all means of sustenance for the civilian population of Iraq's major cities.

• Reservoirs and water pipes have disappeared.

• All hygienic facilities decimated.

• Electric power has ceased. Iraq is without the means to restore it for years.

• Neither water nor sewage can be conveyed because no pipelines remain. There is no power to pump liquids.

• Civilian communications are destroyed. Transportation for the population has been obliterated.

• Iraq depended upon imported food and now lacks the revenue with which to buy it.

• All refineries have been reduced to rubble. Grain and food sheds and warehouses were targeted and destroyed.

• Medicines, pharmaceutical products, bandages, antibiotics, hospital supplies, surgical equipment, equipment for blood typing, blood supplies, anesthesia and means of sterilization are all gone.

The Middle East Children's Alliance just released a report: The infant mortality rate in Iraq has grown by 380%. Out of every 1000 children under five, 104 will die. The rise of infant and under five mortality is escalating out of all reach. Lack of clean drinking water and elimination of sanitation have produced an epidemic of water-borne diseases such as cholera, typhoid, dysentery and gastro-enteritis.

Over 900,000 Iraqi children are malnourished; 118,000 are severely malnourished and are at risk of dying. The highest incidence of severe malnutrition exists amongst children between one and two years of age.

And U.S. rulers are calmly contemplating a revisiting of this genocide in the coming weeks. This is by way of instructing the peoples of the Arab East as to the human cost of withstanding imperial hegemony in the region.

oil prices by increasing production thus dropping oil prices from \$25 to \$11 a barrel. The target was Iraq, whose lack of hard currency undercut the stability of Hussein's rule.

During the Iraq-Iran War the Kuwaiti border was moved north until it encompassed 900 square miles and about one-third of the largest oil reserve in Iraq, the Rumaila oil reserve, at which point the Kuwaiti emir bought the Santa Fe Drilling Company of Alhambra, California, for \$2.3 billion because of its slant drilling equipment — horizontal drilling equipment — with which they drilled under the Iraqi border. They pulled out \$14 billion of Iraqi oil.

The director of that company was Brent Scowcroft, the national security advisor to George Bush, and the other director of renown was Robert Mossbacher, the secretary of commerce.

I told you a moment before about Miles Ignotus, who, in 1975, disclosed Pentagon plans to invade the Gulf. His real name is Edward Luttwak. He published in the *Los Angeles Times*, March 9, 1992, the following article: "A Perfect Crisis for Bush."

"Since Hussein presents no immediate threat," Luttwak writes, "the president can control the timing of the attack. The Iraqi situation continues to be our perfect crisis. The second great virtue of the Iraqi crisis is Saddam Hussein's *modus operandus* which is to remain passive while we deliberate at leisure our actions to be taken against him.

"We can take our time in deciding how to eliminate his industrial machinery, whether to act in days, weeks or months. That's what makes this latest Iraqi crisis perfect. There is no doubt about the form of an eventual action sanctioned by the Security Council. To wait until October would be too transparent. To act immediately on the other hand would be premature because people would forget it. The ideal date would be August or September. In any event, any delay from now until then would be to Bush's advantage and there is always the equally unresolved situation with Libya to fall back upon."

Effects of U.S. bombardment

Let me just remind you of something. Undersecretary General of the United Nations Marti Ahtisaari prepared a report on March 20, 1991, on the effects upon Iraq of the the most massive air bombardment in history. In a period of four weeks the United States and its junior partners used more explosive tonnages on Iraq, a relatively small nation of 17 million people, than in the entire seven years of World War II in Europe, North Africa and Asia combined! The language that is used by Ahtisaari in this report is rare for bureaucratic documents in the dread and horror that it conveys:

"Nothing that we have seen or read could quite prepare us for the particular form of devastation that has befallen this country. The conflict has wrought near apocalyptic results upon the economic and social

cent of the shares were divided among three countries: Britain 47.5 percent, France 23.75 percent and the U.S. 23.75 percent. The Consortium of San Remo became the Iraq Petroleum Company.

France and Britain divided up the Arab nation between them. To weaken Arab nationalists, Britain now set out to land-lock Iraq. It severed Iraqi access to the Gulf by establishing for the first time a territorial entity labelled "Kuwait," with artificial boundaries rooted neither in history nor geography.

In 1921, Britain installed the Hashemites in Baghdad and Amman, sons of the shérif of Mecca who, with British connivance, were driven from Arabia by the Wahabi clan of Saud. Although King Faisal I of the Iraqi state was under British military control, neither he nor his dependent administration ever accepted the amputation of the Kuwait district and the removal of Iraqi access to the Gulf.

Faisal sought to build a railway to Kuwait and to build Iraqi port facilities in the city of Kuwait. Britain vetoed both projects, a practice maintained by Britain through 1961 when the Kuwait district was declared "independent."

The attempts by Britain to force Iraqi acceptance made the "Kuwait" question the symbolic focus of the Arab national movement in Iraq and a touchstone both of Iraqi humiliation at the hands of Britain and of anti-colonial struggle.

In 1932, the British Agent in Baghdad forced the Iraqi prime minister, virtually at gun point, to enter into "correspondence" on the delimitation of boundaries for British "Kuwait." The Iraqi Chamber of Deputies, although largely handpicked, nonetheless repudiated the "correspondence."

Resistance to British designs on the Gulf became an Iraqi *cause célèbre* throughout the 1930s. The Iraqi press campaigned for the return to Iraqi sovereign control of the district of Kuwait and the restoration of Iraqi access to the Gulf.

The British political agent in Kuwait, Lt. Col. H.R.P. Dickson, (who would become the chief representative of the Kuwait Oil Company in 1936) wrote in his letters to the British political resident in the Gulf in 1933 that such was the fever of sentiment both in Iraq and the Kuwaiti district itself for reversion to Iraq, "residents of Kuwait had to be kept isolated, by force if need be," from contact with other Iraqis.

Faisal I was succeeded by King Ghazi, who alarmed the British by his open call for the recovery of Kuwait. In 1932, Sheikh Ahmad as-Sabah visited Baghdad and met Ghazi, the two men agreeing that popular sentiment was running so high that ways had to be found to restore Iraqi sovereignty. Britain prevented Ghazi from travelling to Kuwait and the two men were not allowed to meet again.

Resistance to Britain spread throughout the country. In April 1938,

Iraqi Minister of Foreign Affairs Tawfiq as-Suweidi informed British Ambassador Peterson in Baghdad:

"The Ottoman-British Agreement of 1913 recognizes Kuwait as a District under the jurisdiction of the province of Basra. Since sovereignty over Basra has been transferred from the Ottoman state to the Iraqi state, that sovereignty has to include Kuwait under the terms of the 1913 Agreement. Iraq has not recognized any change in the status of Kuwait."

The "Free Kuwaiti Movement"

The remarkable boldness of Iraqi functionaries who were, after all, under British military control, was made possible by the emergence of a mass movement among Kuwaiti youth, defying British rule. The "Free Kuwaiti Movement" or "Group of Free Kuwaitis" submitted a mass petition appealing to the Iraqi government to support their demand for immediate reversion of Kuwait to Iraq.

The National Bloc was formed in Kuwait by the Free Kuwaiti Movement and it called upon Sheikh Ahmad as-Sabah to establish a Legislative Council representing "the Free Kuwaitis." Fearing an open uprising, the sheikh was forced to agree. The first meeting of the Legislative Council in 1938 passed a unanimous resolution demanding that Kuwait revert to Iraq.

Britain, alarmed, but uncertain about the direct use of force, forced the sheikh to dissolve the Legislative Council and to hunt down, detain and execute its members. On March 7, 1939, Free Kuwaitis sent a series of telegrams to King Ghazi, appealing for Iraq's intervention against the sheikh and the British. Baghdad Radio broadcast the appeal:

"Our history supports the return of Kuwait to Iraq. We shall live and die under our own national sovereignty, under the Iraqi flag. Ghazi, help your brethren of Kuwait!"

On March 10, 1939, an uprising began against the ruling authority in Kuwait. The sheikh, with British arms and "advisers" crushed the uprising, killing and imprisoning most of the participants. King Ghazi made a public demand for the release of all detainees and warned the sheikh to cease all repressive measures against the Free Kuwaiti Movement.

British Ambassador Peterson now summoned King Ghazi and warned him to cease public support for the Free Kuwaiti Movement and to abandon any claims to Kuwait. Ghazi refused. On April 5, 1939, he was found dead, universally believed to have been assassinated by British agents.

Faisal II was an infant and control of the country was in the hands of British agent, Nuri es-Said. Only in 1940 was the Kuwaiti sheikh able

stopped [before we can sell this to the American people]. It may turn out that bogey-man may not be defined in Arabic as in English."

The U.S. and Saddam Hussein

In the most recent days a series of articles have surfaced which reveal that the United States had supplied Saddam Hussein and the government of Iran with high-technology military equipment and intelligence up to 24 hours prior to Iraqi troops crossing into Kuwait.

Many of you may be aware that Saddam Hussein came into office through the assassination of Abdel Karim Kassim in 1958, the man who had nationalized oil, legalized the national parties and the Communist Party of Iraq and mobilized his people for the recovery of Kuwait. Kuwait was a district of Basra province amputated from Iraq by the British and claimed as part of Iraq by every successive Iraqi government until that of the government of Saddam Hussein.

The murder of Abdel Karim Kassim was the result of a Central Intelligence Agency plan. Sydney Gottlieb, the head of the clandestine division centered in Fort Detrick, Md., had concocted a series of poisons that were intended to dispose of Abdel Karim Kassim.

When this murder operation did not succeed, the CIA station chief in Baghdad called upon one of his assets, a young right-wing member of the Ba'ath Party named Saddam Hussein who on his third assassination attempt, succeeded in killing for the CIA, Abdel Karim Kassim. Saddam Hussein was then put in charge of interrogation and internment. Thousands of trade unionists, political activists, students and village leaders were killed or arrested and tortured. For the next 27 years, Saddam Hussein was their man in Baghdad.

After the Iranian revolution and the fall of the Shah, he was induced by Zbigniew Brzezinski through a meeting with the emir of Kuwait, a representative of King Fahd and Saddam Hussein himself in Kuwait, to invade Iran, to detach the oil-producing province of Khuzistan in the same fashion that Kuwait had once been amputated from Iraq.

The war was to protect the feudal regimes of the Emirates and of Saudi Arabia from Shi'ite radicalism and the masses radicalized and inspired by the Iranian revolution — a war that was resisted by the Iranian population and which led to eight years of conflict, 1 million casualties and the government of Iraq going from \$40 billion in the black to \$80 billion in the red owed to the Kuwaiti emir and to the Saudi king and to U.S. and European banks.

Discarding one of their own

It is at this point that the Central Intelligence Agency decided that, like Noriega in Panama, their man in Baghdad was to be discarded. They didn't want to discard the coterie, the Sunni elite, that they had put into office. The CIA proceeded to induce OPEC nations to lower

Gulf — a new El Dorado awaiting its conquistadores.”

A Pentagon analyst who went under the pseudonym Miles Ignoutus had one of his Pentagon position papers published in *Harpers* magazine in 1975 titled “Seizing Arab Oil.” It was a blueprint for Operation Desert Shield.

“A rapid deployment and strike scenario: the 82d Airborne Division, strengthened by air-cavalry battalions, would embark on giant C-5 and C-141 jet transports, refuel at Israel air bases and proceed to drop paratroopers on key Saudi oil fields, installations and airports. Escort would be provided by Phantom fighters based on Israeli fields or aboard carriers in the Arabian sea. The airborne divisions would pave the way for large Marine contingents who would arrive on the scene 72 hours later.”

It is interesting to note the Pentagon’s attitude toward the sacred sovereignty of Kuwait: “There is a role for the shah to play. He would be asked to occupy Kuwait and appropriate their oil.”

This was confirmed by the *London Sunday Times* on Feb. 9, 1975:

“The U.S. National Security Council has completed a detailed review of a top-secret Department of Defense plan to invade Saudi Arabian oil fields. The plan, code-named Dahrain Option Four, has been drawn up by the Pentagon and provides for a U.S. air attack on the fields at Ghavar containing 40% of the known oil reserves.

“The attack will be led by nine airborne infantry battalions based in North Carolina and flown under escort to Dharan in the Gulf by way of the Israeli air base in Hatosim. Infantry battalions will seize the fields at Dharan, move inland to Ghavar, capture landing jetties, storage tanks at Ras Tanour, to be joined three days later by Marine divisions and thousands of men who will be sent to the Gulf by sea.”

On Aug. 25, 1977, President Carter issues Secret Presidential Directive PD-18: “Rapid intervention in the Middle East and occupation of the oil producing areas of the Gulf.”

And, parenthetically, Sen. Henry Jackson, chairperson of the Senate Committee on Energy and Natural Resources, prepared a secret report collateral to this operation in December 1977 which called for the shah to seize Kuwait: “It must be recognized in advance that the role for which Iran has been primed cannot have blame attached to it for Iran will be carrying out an assignment.”

Again, Adm. Thomas Moore, the chairperson of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, June 4, 1978, described the imminent plans for the invasion of the region, the seizure of its oil and the occupation of Kuwait. By 1979, Pentagon analyst Lawrence Mosher formulated the plan “circulating in Washington corridors ... where our military people call for the U.S. 200-unit Quick Strike Force consisting of divisions deployable anywhere. We need a real bogey-man to come in and have to be

to replace Iraqi administration of the Postal Service with a British administration and not until 1945 were Iraqi curricula removed from Kuwaiti schools.

With the end of World War II, British rule was displaced by U.S. imperial domination of the region, acting primarily through the colonial-settler state established in Palestine. Arab national resistance reached a qualitatively new scale and Kuwait’s relation to Iraq would be central to it.

— Part 2 —

World War I marked a watershed in the Arab struggle for national self-determination. During the previous quarter of a century, Britain and France conspired to dismember the Ottoman Empire and to divide it between them. In order to accomplish this, however, they had to enlist the subject peoples themselves to fight under British direction, a task accomplished by promising independence to traditional rulers, whose allegiance British agents had solicited through bribery, coercion and cynical commitments to support national independence after an Ottoman defeat.

Writing in the *Los Angeles Times* (August 19, 1990), David Lamb, in an article entitled “Brief, Tumultuous U.S. Relations With Arabs Reach Turning Point,” compared World Wars I and II in their respective impact on the Arab nation.

“The Arabs’ aspirations for self-determination had been crushed in the aftermath of World War I when the major European powers reneged on their pledges and divided up the Arab world among themselves.”

The methods used to sever Iraq’s access to the Gulf through the amputation of its Kuwaiti district were described in Part One. In many ways the cold-blooded murder by British agents of King Ghazi I of Iraq when he refused to abandon his support of the Kuwaiti National Movement in its insurrectional struggle to reunite Kuwait with Iraq, marked a last gasp for British rule in the region.

Ghazi was murdered on April 5, 1939, the eve of World War II, which would be fought, like the global conflagration of 1914, among rival imperial powers seeking to secure hegemony over subject peoples and world markets.

A new claimant, however, had emerged. If Woodrow Wilson made clear in World War I, that U.S. capital was prepared to stake its claim to imperial control, by the onset of World War II, Washington was preparing actively to displace the colonial domain of enemy and ally alike.

Los Angeles Times reporter David Lamb continues:

"just fifty years ago, White House aides suggest[ed] that Washington ... build influence in the desert wastelands of the Arabian Peninsula." Roosevelt, however, favored allowing the British to control the situation for the time being: "Tell the British," he wrote in a staff memo, "to take care of the king of Saudi Arabia. This is a little far afield for us."

As Lamb describes it, the assignment to the British was only for the duration:

"It was not until the final days of World War II in 1945 — a war that extended U.S. interests to every corner of the globe — that Washington finally decided to exert its influence in the Persian Gulf and the Arabian Peninsula.

"In February 1945, Franklin Roosevelt met Abdul Aziz ibn Saud," whom Lamb describes predictably as "a barely literate warrior-leader whose isolated kingdom mattered little except to the oil barons."

But Roosevelt was not merely seeking to establish priority for U.S. oil companies in this previously British domain. "Roosevelt hoped to gain support for increased Jewish immigration to Palestine. ... The two men got along well and Roosevelt promised that the United States would make no policy decision on the Palestinian issue without first consulting Saudi Arabia."

Like the British before him, Roosevelt acted on the operating imperial principle "Promise them anything." As Lamb put it: "It was the first of many promises that the United States would make to the Arabs in the postwar era. Few were ever kept."

The Zionist Role

The plan to establish a colonial-settler state in Palestine was linked directly to U.S. plans to displace Britain and France in the region. The U.S. needed a surrogate force on the scene to cope with the anti-colonial revolution in the Arab world. The Zionist leaders left Washington in no doubt as to their intentions.

In 1940, Joseph Weitz, the head of the Jewish Agency's Colonization Department, responsible for the organization of settlements in Palestine, stated the official position:

"Between ourselves it must be clear that there is no room for both peoples together in this country. We shall not achieve our goal if the Arabs are here in this small country. There is no other way than to transfer the Arabs from here to neighboring countries — all of them. Not one village, not one tribe shall be left."

On July 9, 1947, Rabbi Fischmann appeared before the United Nations Special Committee of Inquiry on behalf of the Jewish Agency

The "take" from the drug traffic is approximately \$500 billion annually and these funds are entirely integrated within the U.S. banking system, processed through Morgan Stanley, Chase Manhattan, Citibank, First National. The \$500 billion express itself in controlling shares of major blue-chip U.S. corporations such as Ford Motor Company, AT & T, General Electric. You cannot distinguish the operations of the mob or the drug traffic from the normal workings of finance capital in the United States.

This is not the first time an airplane was blown up by U.S. agencies. I'm not just referring to the Iranian Airbus wantonly blown out of the sky by U.S. missiles. Remember the U.S. military claimed the radar suggested the Airbus was a jet fighter — one-fifth the size. The flight commander who blew up that Iranian civilian plane was given a commendation and medal by George Bush. Has the U.N. debated this, let alone acted to blockade the United States unless George Bush sends the perpetrators to Teheran for trial?

The Gander air crash [off Newfoundland] is also described in the *Toronto Star*. Once again, as the author says, "the similarities between the Gander crash and the downing of Pan Am Flight 103 over Scotland in December 1988 are overwhelming. The Gander plane was carrying members of the clandestine "D" force which is a drug-smuggling operation of the U.S. government."

The *Sunday Star* in Toronto says: "The boxes on board the airlift contained bodies of U.S. operatives who had been killed" after they had been silenced for their role in the drug operations."

Motives behind intervention

The Gulf War against Iraq and the war about to be waged against Libya have to do with other agendas on the part of the American ruling class.

The U.S. intervention in the Gulf had been prepared over a sustained period of time. Since 1964 every U.S. administration has put forward that scenario. Robert Tucker, a Pentagon analyst, formulated it like this with respect to the securing of the regimes that were clients of the United States in the Persian Gulf:

"Without intervention there is a distinct possibility of an economic and political disaster bearing more than a superficial resemblance to that of the 1930s. It is impossible to intervene everywhere. Our intervention must be in a relatively restricted area which, if effectively controlled, will give us a sufficient portion of present world oil production and proven reserves, break the present price structure and break the core of the cartel politically and economically." ("Oil: the Issue of American Intervention," *Commentary*, January 1975)

Tucker describes this convenient area as: "The Arab shoreline of the

Intelligence Agency has been using Pan American planes to run drugs over a period of years and I thought I was running an airline."

This report was published not only in *Barrons* and in the *Toronto Star* by John Picton but was sent to various members of Congress. James Traficant of Ohio actually issued a press release about it, but this has not deterred the United States in the slightest bit from mobilizing the United Nations and its Security Council cynically to sanction a virtual state of war with Libya.

Drug-smuggling exposed

This act of war by the U.N. Security Council occurs with knowledge and forethought by all the members of the Security Council, by the United Nations itself and of course by the U.S. authorities.

"Pan American bomb linked to double-dealing CIA drug plot," is the headline in the *Toronto Star* on Nov. 10, 1989. "Washington: An eight-man team of CIA agents was aboard Pan Am flight 103 last Dec. 21 after completing a hostage mission in Beirut. The agents became outraged when they discovered that the Central Intelligence Agency operation in drugs and arms was going to be escalated. One of the leaders of the group, Maj. Gen. Charles McKee, had decided that it was time to expose the operation.

"One of the people prominent in the report, 42-year old Munzer al Kassar, holds two Brazilian passports and shares offices with many of the Central Intelligence Agency operatives. He entered the picture when the West German intelligence agency BKA was tipped off about his drug-smuggling operations, which centered on Frankfurt airport.

"Baggage handlers know which bags to watch for and systematically substitute them for identical luggage which contain the drugs and place them on board. This method passes through arrival customs through operatives on the scene. The route and method had worked steadily and smoothly for a long time.

"BKA-CIA 1 informed al Kassar that he was to continue his drug smuggling routes especially into the United States," the *Toronto Star* continues.

This article specifies the time of the various drug runs, the cities into which the heroin and narcotics were transferred in the United States and documents that the bombing of the Pan American flight was the work of the Central Intelligence Agency itself because the elite team of eight were returning from Beirut without authorization to blow the cover on this operation. It is a basic breach of CIA rules for covert units to return on civilian transport and without approval and orders.

Specifics are spelled out

Maggie Mahar, in an article in *Barrons*, describes the findings on Pan Am 103 as startling. All the specifics are spelled out.

for Palestine to present formally the claims of the Zionist movement.

"The Promised Land extends from the River of Egypt up to the Euphrates. It includes parts of Syria and Lebanon." In fact, the map presented to the United Nations designated all of Palestine, Lebanon and Jordan, two-thirds of Syria, half of Iraq, a third of Arabia, and Egypt up to the Nile, including Cairo, as part of "Eretz Israel" or the land of Israel.

The partition of Palestine and the sanctioning of a settler state were part of a deliberate plan to displace Great Britain as the dominant colonial power in the Arab East. To achieve this end, Harry Truman enlisted Joseph Stalin, whose collusion with the U.S. was essential for the establishment of the state of Israel.

Within six months of the partitioning of Palestine and before the formal formation of the state, the Zionist militia began the destruction of Palestinian towns and villages which resulted in the expulsion of some 800,000 people out of a population of approximately 950,000.

The resistance waged by the feudal Arab regimes was marked by scarcely concealed collusion. On July 21, 1951, King Abdullah of Jordan, brother of King Faisal I of Iraq, was assassinated upon discovery that he had conspired to divide Palestine between the Zionists and the Hashemite monarchy.

The Advent of Nasser and the Baghdad Pact

It was the collusion of King Farouk with the British which inspired the Officers of the Liberation, led by Gamal Abdel Nasser, to overthrow the monarchy on July 23, 1952. The wave of national pride which swept the Arab nation was directed against imperial domination in general but the corrupt, feudal rulers in particular.

The tide of revolt swept British colonialism aside. On October 19, 1954, the Anglo-Egyptian agreement was signed in Cairo. By June 13, 1956, the last British contingents left Egypt. Thirteen days later, President Gamal Abdel Nasser nationalized the Suez Canal.

It had been clear from the end of World War II that the United States had become the principal imperial power. From 1952 to 1955 Nasser sought to come to terms with U.S. rulers, seeking arms and soliciting secretly U.S. support for a settlement with Israel.

Instead, U.S. Secretary of State John Foster Dulles inaugurated the Baghdad Pact, designed specifically to counter the surge of revolt in the Arab East. On November 21 and 22, 1955, the first conference of the signatory countries was held: Turkey, Iraq, Iran, Pakistan and Great Britain participated with the United States listed as an "observer" for cosmetic purposes.

The Baghdad Pact was perceived throughout the Arab world as an

alliance of regimes subordinate to British and American imperial control. In Iraq, it was greeted by riots of protest.

Time magazine (November 26, 1956) provided a graphic description of the mood in Iraq:

"Iraq has long been the only strongly pro-Western Arab state. This is largely the doing of astute old Premier Nuri es-Said, once an officer in the Ottoman army. His country is oil prosperous ... but mobs in the street denounce Nuri es-Said as a British stooge. Last week, open trouble broke out. For six days Arabs demonstrated in the holy city of An Najaf. ... Radio Cairo boasted of open civil war in Iraq.

"Nuri es-Said jailed five opposition chieftains, including a former justice minister and a former president of the Chamber of Deputies for appealing to King Faisal II to withdraw from the Baghdad Pact."

Behind the scenes, however, Nuri es-Said signalled to the United States that he needed immediate help. The figure placed in office by Great Britain to abort an open revolt in both Iraq and Kuwait demanding the return of Iraq's southern district, now sought the same in order to contain a revolution whose day had come.

As *Time* revealed: "Iraq was, until recently, counted a British preserve. Tough old Nuri es-Said, Iraq's strongman, is Britain's best friend in the area, but under pressure of nationalists (1) announced publicly, after the Suez invasion, that Iraq will boycott all Baghdad Pact meetings attended by Britain; (2) told the U.S. privately that if he is to survive he must disengage from the British." *Time* added, ominously, indicating official thinking, "Rich oil reserves ... give Iraq a good prospect of stability after Nuri."

The regime, installed by the British after the murder of King Ghazi in 1939, faced open revolt. "The twenty-one-year-old king opened Parliament, in a speech from the throne that Nuri had written for him, by declaring martial law in all Iraq. When forty deputies clamored to speak, the government swiftly and summarily suspended Parliament."

With the invasion of Egypt by Britain, France and Israel, the mood throughout the Arab world became revolutionary. *Time* reported on December 31, 1956:

"In most Arab lands of the Middle East, young army officers with revolutionary social ideas and anti-Western feelings are riding high. But they have yet to unseat Iraq's strongman, Nuri es-Said. Nuri has often been accused of being a British stooge. It took courage for him to keep Iraq in the anti-communist Baghdad Pact along with Britain after Britain invaded Egypt." Once again Nuri es-Said "declared martial law, closed schools and clapped on heavy censorship."

Radio Cairo broadcast throughout the Arab world "the traitor is doomed." Nuri es-Said arrested one hundred political leaders and court-martialed five of the most prominent. "Nuri," said U.S.

ranking operative of the DEA (Drug Enforcement Agency).

The Drug Enforcement Agency (DEA) and the CIA had been using Pan American airlines for years to courier hard drugs, narcotics, heroin, which were then distributed by the CIA and DEA — in Detroit, St. Louis, Los Angeles and New York.

Pan Am 103 was a plane targeted by the Central Intelligence Agency and blown out of the sky because those agents were coming back to the United States unauthorized to blow the cover on that operation. This is documented interestingly enough, by a company of ex-Mossad and Central Intelligence agents in private practice, hired by the insurers of Pan Am, who were faced with a \$10 billion lawsuit by the relatives of the passengers on Pan Am 103.

Facts have been published

John Picton, in the *Toronto Star*, in an article Jan. 28, 1990, sets forth the real facts. There were eight Central Intelligence Agency operatives on board that flight, a team led by Maj. Gen. Charles Dennis McKee, 43, of the Defense Intelligence Agency, the Rangers — the Airborne elite unit, the Green Berets and the team chief for Oliver North's CIA drug-running team. He is described by *Time* magazine as "a walking arsenal of guns and knives."

A secret FBI field report is clear: "No suitcase originating in Malta where the accused Libyans, Abdul Basel Ali al Madrahi and Mahman Khalifa Fima, had traveled from Tripoli was ever transferred to Pan Am Flight 103." There is a special intelligence unit, called "Corea." It is the code name for CIA drug-owned operations, using front companies such as Stevens Manura Corporation, AMA Industries, Wildwood Video and Condor Television. This CIA clandestine organization was directing heroin traffic in conjunction with a man named Munzer al-Kassar, a high-level Drug Enforcement Agency operative, with well-established smuggling routes to U.S. cities. Dick Gregory always said, "Every nine-year-old in the ghetto knows where the heroin man is but the FBI can't find him." We can now see why.

Barrons on Dec. 17, 1990, carried an important article which sets out the facts: "Al Kassar is part of the Iran-Contra network overseen by Oliver North." The article describes the network which involved Albert Hakim and Air Force Maj. Gen. Richard C. Secord. Al Kassar was the go-between for the transfer of drugs into American cities by the Defense Intelligence Agency, the Drug Enforcement Administration and Operation Corea of the Central Intelligence Agency.

The *Barrons'* article quotes the head of Pan Am as saying: "I thought I was running an airline" not a drug-running courier service, when it was established that the Frankfurt routing for Pan Am was the drug-running vehicle. Pan American Chairman Thomas Plaskett read a 27-page investigator's report: "You mean to tell me that the Central

The Gulf War One Year Later: Who Are the Real Criminals?

(The following lecture by Ralph Schoenman was presented at St. Johns University in Collegeville, Minn., on April 2, 1992.)

In discussing the Gulf War crisis one year later, I want to make clear that we are not talking about the past, even the recent past, because you are well aware that the Gulf War crisis is on-going and the ruling class is preparing the next round even as we speak.

The New York Times on March 19 writes: "The Pentagon is charting its military options for bombing Iraq. The National Security Council decisions have emphasized that the timing and targets of attack have already been decided, that they are predisposed to use force soon and they are proceeding swiftly to provide the Iraqi targets which will be settled upon by the end of next week." The decision to launch the attack and the delineation of those buildings and targets is in process of being resolved.

The Gulf War is with us. *The New York Times* made clear how the Security Council is a cat's-paw of U.S. imperial plans:

"The Pentagon's military assessment suggests that it is not concerned with any potential retaliatory threat from Iraq's Air Force and indeed the Bush administration's 'careful political preparation in the Security Council cannot be divorced from planning in the White House and the Central Intelligence Agency to topple Mr. Hussein. You cannot separate the two,' a senior administration official said.

"The focus now is to see U.N. resolutions implemented, but that is merely the preparation for getting Saddam out of power."

Libya is also targeted

Let me also emphasize that the targeting of Iraq is but one facet of the war plans of U.S. rulers. Libya is also targeted. The United Nations was recently and predictably deployed for that purpose. The putative basis for the vote in the Security Council to blockade Libya, to cut off trade and shipments and purchase of oil and all air transport, is the claim that two Libyan intelligence agents — as they are arbitrarily deemed to be — were responsible for blowing up Pan American Flight 103 over Lockerbie, Scotland.

Pan Am 103 was an airplane carrying eight CIA agents involved in directing the drug traffic, using an "asset," Munzer al Kassar, a high-

Ambassador Waldemar John Gallman, "has ridden out the storm."

Nuri es-Said's Secret Appeals

What was not reported at the time, however, was Nuri es-Said's secret appeals to the British and Americans to help him placate Iraqi national sentiment by returning Kuwait to Iraq. On March 9, 1956, British Secretary for Foreign Affairs Selwyn Lloyd visited Baghdad for the consultative meeting of the Permanent Council of the Baghdad Pact. Nuri es-Said specifically requested that Kuwait revert to Iraq as part of the union with Iraq and Jordan.

Selwyn Lloyd promised to place the matter before the British cabinet. Britain responded in typical fashion. Ambassador Michael Wright informed Nuri es-Said that "Britain is prepared to grant independence to Kuwait. As to the question of accession to Iraq, Kuwait has freedom of choice."

In April 1957, Iraqi Deputy Prime Minister Tawfiq as-Suwaidi held a meeting with the sheikh of Kuwait, Abdallah as-Salim as-Sabah, in Shtoura, Lebanon. They began negotiations on Kuwait's accession to Iraq, negotiations which were contingent upon British approval, as the sheikh feared his removal unless British sanction were secured.

In January 1958, Nuri es-Said addressed a meeting of the Baghdad Pact attended by Turkey, Iran, Pakistan and Great Britain as formal participants, with John Foster Dulles present. The Iraqi prime minister urged upon Baghdad Pact members the incorporation of Kuwait into Iraq. All present agreed, with the sole exception of Great Britain, whose representative voiced opposition.

On February 14, 1958, Iraq and Jordan formally federated, forming a union. In a meeting with British Secretary for Foreign Affairs Selwyn Lloyd, the Union's minister for foreign affairs, Tewfiq as-Suwaidi, raised the issue of Kuwait's accession to Iraq, seeking to impress upon the British the importance to the "stability" of the Iraqi government that the severance of Kuwait should come to an end.

The British parried the request, as they had before. Once again Sheikh Abdallah as-Salim as-Sabah of Kuwait visited Baghdad, on May 5, 1958, for a meeting with King Faisal II and Nuri es-Said, who formally sought his agreement for Kuwait's accession to Iraq. Again, the Sheikh agreed, subject to British acquiescence.

Accordingly, on June 5, 1958, Iraq and Jordan, in the persons of Nuri es-Said and King Hussein, raised the demand for Kuwait's accession to the union of Iraq and Jordan in a confidential memorandum addressed to the British Embassy in Baghdad.

This time the language used was not supplicatory and its presence in a formal memorandum effectively placed Britain on notice that its clients were determined to confront Britain on the subject of severance

of Kuwait from Iraq. The implications for Britain were serious, given the fall of Anthony Eden after the abortive invasion of Egypt in 1956.

Jordan, after all, had, like Kuwait itself, been a completely artificial construct of arbitrary British rule. As *Time* described Jordan after British withdrawal from Egypt:

"If the British subsidy (to Jordan) ends and nobody matches it, Jordan will have a hard time holding its place on the map — where it was put by Winston Churchill, genially creating a kingdom for his friend Abdullah."

Now its two client governments, recently joined in a Union, declared *inter-alia*:

"Kuwait was a territory that was subject to the sovereignty of the Ottoman State from the point of view of international law. It was a District within the jurisdiction of the province of Basra. That sovereignty was the subject of no doubt or disagreement, either on the part of the local Kuwaiti authorities or the British authorities. Indeed, it was implicitly recognized by the British government in the Turkish-British Agreement signed in London on July 29, 1913, which, in its Article VI, provided for the right of the sheikh of Kuwait to exercise his administrative powers as an Ottoman chief of direction under the jurisdiction of the province of Basra."

Iraq was now convinced that Britain was the sole obstacle to its ability to weather the gathering storm against the government of Nuri es-Said, both within Iraq and throughout the Arab world, a tempest it believed it could delay or dissolve by disgorging Kuwait from British colonial rule.

Given the importance to Britain in particular and to imperialism in general of their clients in Baghdad and Amman, the intensification of Iraqi efforts to regain Kuwait presented Britain with an insuperable problem. These, after all, were efforts pursued by the very puppet regime installed after King Ghazi had been murdered on the eve of World War II because of his support for the Kuwaiti national movement and its struggle against the severance of Kuwait from Iraq by British colonialism.

Iraq now informed Britain that it was preparing a formal memorandum, well-supported by documents and copies of secret understandings, a memorandum, moreover, which would be published before the world on July 12, 1958, on the necessity for Kuwait's immediate accession to the union of Iraq and Jordan.

The British ambassador informed Tawfiq as-Suweidi that Great Britain had "approved in principle" Kuwait's return to Iraq. The British requested, however a meeting to be held in London on July 24, 1958, between Iraq's prime minister and minister of foreign affairs on the one hand and the British prime minister and secretary of foreign

most part the prisoners' fundamental and humanitarian demands.

We wish to inform you that all the prisoners are well and thank you for all you have done.

You will always be for our people a brother upon whom we can depend.

Executive Committee,
Prisoner's Friends Association,
Nazareth, Israel

George Wald, Nobel prize; **Prof. Ruth Hubbard**, Harvard University; **Dick Gregory**, social activist; **Ramsey Clark**, former attorney general; **Linus Pauling**, Nobel prizes, Chemistry and Peace.

Publisher's Note: *As this article and appeal went to press in the July/August issue of The Organizer, word reached Ralph Schoenman and the Palestine Campaign that the prisoners' demands had been met. The following brief statement appeared in the July/August 1991 issue of The Organizer:*

We just received word from the Palestinian Prisoners' Friends Association that Israeli authorities agreed, at 3 a.m. on Tuesday, July 9, to meet some of the demands raised by the 17,000 Palestinian hunger strikers.

Negotiations are still under way, but the latest information to reach us indicates that the hunger strike has been called off. This appears to be a great victory for the strikers. It is also a sign of the effectiveness of the international campaign organized in twenty-four hours by Ralph Schoenman and Pierre Lambert, the two people to whom the Palestinian Prisoners' Friends Association appealed for help.—**The editors [of The Organizer]**

Letter From Palestine

Publisher's Note: *Ralph Schoenman and the Palestine Campaign received a letter from the Prisoners' Friends Association in Nazareth, Israel, thanking them for the international campaign they helped coordinate in support of the 17,000 imprisoned Palestinian hunger strikers. The letter, dated July 11, was reprinted in the September 1991 issue of The Organizer. The letter states:*

Brother Ralph Schoenman,

The executive committee of the Prisoner's Friends Association of Nazareth sends you its greetings and thanks for your help and the campaign which you organized for our brothers during their 16 day hunger strike within the Israeli prisons.

The prisoners ended their strike after being satisfied that the administration of the Israeli prisons has restored prison conditions to those which prevailed prior to the Gulf War. Your solidarity certainly accounts for the decision by the prison administration to satisfy for the

affairs on the other to work out "the details."

Britain had prevaricated too long. On July 14, 1958, the Iraqi monarchy was overthrown in the revolution led by Abdul Karim Qasim. King Faisal II and Nuri es-Said were executed. Britain immediately abrogated the agreement regarding Kuwait.

The July 14, 1958, Revolution

On August 11, 1990, Cable News Network telecast an interview with King Hussein of Jordan in the course of a colloquy between reporters Robert Novak; Rowland Evans; Fred Barnes of the *New Republic*; Les Aspin, Democratic chairperson of the House Armed Services Committee; and Henry Hyde, Republican senior member of the House Intelligence Committee.

It was the thirty-eighth anniversary of King Hussein's accession to the throne, an event precipitated by the assassination of King Abdullah whose "country," like Kuwait, had been "carved" out of the Arab nation, by British imperialism.

At one point Evans asked King Hussein:

"Your Majesty, President Saddam Hussein has said many times that he would like to use the great oil resources of the Middle East not for, as he puts it, rich sheikhs and emirs, he'd like to use it for the people, the Arab people in the Middle East. Is he just talking nonsense, or does he mean that?"

King Hussein responded:

"I believe he means it and he's proven that. Iraq, incidentally, is unique in not only speaking about hopes, but also the fact that it is a very rich oil producing state."

Evans rejoined:

"Do you feel, sir, that without this oil, the industrialized democracies would be nothing; they'd lose their economies and go into depression? Do you think there is a sense here that the West wants to make a first move towards 'internationalization' of the Arab oil — so that they have a guarantee?"

Hussein answered: "There is a struggle to improve positions ... over the issue of oil."

Evans again: "If there were no oil in Saudi Arabia, ... do you think ... my country particularly would be moving to rectify what happened in Kuwait."

"I have," King Hussein said with a broad smile, "very serious doubts that this would be the case."

"So," said Evans, "Oil is the principal factor here, not the U.N. Charter."

Hussein's response was pointed:

"We tried to ... reach political solutions. ... In the 1950s, when the Arab Union existed between Jordan and Iraq, when Kuwait had not received its 'independence,' the famous late Nuri es-Said, the prime minister of the Union, spoke to the British very forcefully that either Kuwait was returned to Iraq or the Union would take some action. Within days of those final discussions, the Union collapsed with the revolution in Iraq. This is the real background to the problem."

The July 14, 1958, revolution which overthrew Nuri es-Said ended the secret agreements to return Kuwait to Iraq and there is evidence that the U.S. and Britain concluded with Nuri es-Said's desperate decision to go public, in the manner of King Ghazi, with the demand for Kuwait's recovery, that not only was he unlikely to contain open revolt but he had outlived his usefulness to his sponsors.

A recently published book, *Saddam Hussein and the Crisis in the Gulf* by Judith Miller of the *New York Times* and Laurie Mylroie (Times Books, 1990), describes the circumstances of the July 14 uprising. Two years after Suez, Egypt and Syria joined, under Nasser, to form the United Arab Republic.

"The union of the Arabs, the overcoming of colonialism imposed from tiers, seemed at hand. ... In that heady atmosphere, a group of Arab nationalist army officers, led by Gen. Abdul Karim Qassim, succeeded in overthrowing the Iraqi monarchy. Although the armed force that attacked the palace was small (less than one hundred people) and lightly armed, the regent, Abdul Illah, failed to order the 2500 man contingent of well-armed Royal Guards ... to fight back. Abdul Illah's resignation and defeatism has never been satisfactorily explained. The commander of the guard sought Abdul Illah's permission to attack the rebels. It was denied."

The regime had been left to its fate.

The book makes clear, moreover, that co-conspirators Abdul Karim Qassim and Col. Abdul-Salam Aref were regarded, notably Aref, as "containable." But now the Iraqi masses took over.

"Within an hour, a huge mob, the poor and dispossessed of Baghdad were in the streets shouting, cheering and calling for vengeance. They raged through the city, attacking the British embassy and other targets, killing several Jordanian ministers. The mob seized the body of Abdul Illah and proceeded to mutilate it and drag it through the streets. When Nuri es-Said ... was discovered the next day, he was immediately shot."

Enter the CIA

The *Boston Sunday Globe* (September 9, 1990) also shed light on these events. Jeff McConnell, an expert "on national security issues,"

- are forced — fifty at a time — into deep pits in the desert sand without water or cover, where they suffocate;
 - are isolated individually in small "boxes" in the blazing heat, for months at a time;
 - have had their food intake reduced by fifty percent, with all essential nutrients removed from their meager diets;
 - witness their visiting family members — women and men, children and the elderly — subjected to humiliating strip searches and body probes; and
 - have their attorneys physically harassed, interrogated, and ejected when they attempt to consult with their clients.
- Palestinian prisoners are routinely tortured with electricity and maimed through prolonged beatings. They are suspended by their limbs for long periods of the day, extending over months at a time.

On July 1, 1991, when Hashim Mohammad, an Arab member of the Israeli Knesset, publicly questioned the minister of police about the conditions of Palestinian political prisoners, he received the following answer: "We are not going to improve their situation, and this strike is only meant to test the determination of the new prison administration." Clearly, international pressure is required — immediately!

A definitive Israeli investigative report described conditions in Israeli prisons as "Hell on Earth." Today, the political prisoners cry out to us for help.

We ask that you support the prisoners' struggle to eliminate the draconian conditions under which they are forced to survive. Add your names to this appeal. Write to Israeli embassies, the Israeli Minister of Police (P.O. Box 2001, Jerusalem, 91020, ISRAEL), and all Israeli authorities. Join the delegations being organized to Israeli embassies throughout the world.

Funds are urgently needed to help continue this campaign and to pay for the political advertisements that are in preparation. Please send your contributions to THE PALESTINE CAMPAIGN, P.O. BOX 90609, SANTA BARBARA, CA 93190.

Please help us mobilize world opinion so that the inhumane treatment and torment to which Palestinian political prisoners are subjected will be brought to an immediate and permanent end.

Ralph Schoenman,

July 5, 1991

Initial U.S. signatories of Appeal:

Elombe Brath, Patrice Lumumba Coalition; Ron Wilkins, Black Employees Association; Samori Marksman, WBAI; Don Rojas, cdi-*for Amsterdam News*; Casey Kasem, television and radio personality;

denied hunger strike with which 17,000 Palestinian political prisoners have answered their Israeli tormentors, expresses that indomitable spirit which has sustained the Palestinian people throughout their long ordeal.

Appeal to Support the Palestinian Hunger Strikers

An international campaign on behalf of Palestinian prisoners who were on hunger strike to improve their conditions was initiated by Ralph Schoenman in the United States and Pierre Lambert in France.

Dear Friends,

"Today, the prisoners in Ansar 3 in the Negev desert and those of the El Khalil prison, along with others in other prisons, are joining the hunger strike which began on June 23 in the Naptha prison."

So begins an urgent appeal, dated July 3, 1991, I have just received from the Palestinian Prisoners' Friends Association, an appeal for international action.

Palestinian political prisoners — 17,000 in all — throughout the Israeli prison system are on the verge of joining the Naptha hunger strike. Since yesterday, the prisoners' hunger strike has spread to the prisons of Fanona, Ashqelan, Ramle, Damun, Jalame, Shatta and Jenin.

At this very moment, thousands of prisoners' families have occupied the International Red Cross headquarters and those of UNESCO in Jerusalem and Gaza, demanding an immediate international commission to verify the shocking facts of daily life in Israeli prisons.

The Prisoners' Friends Association in Nazareth and prominent former prisoners have called for an emergency mass meeting in Jerusalem on July 7. These dramatic actions are aimed at ending the extreme brutality to which Palestinian prisoners of conscience are being subjected today.

Meanwhile, the prisoners' leaders have been blindfolded, bound, placed in boxes and transferred to unnamed "clinics" and other undisclosed destinations. Their lawyers have been denied access to them or information as to their whereabouts.

The Palestinian prisoners have turned to people throughout the world to take heed of their desperate plight. Prisoners at this very moment:

- are denied urgently needed operations, while growing numbers of prisoners are becoming invalids;
- suffer from lack of medicine, which must be provided by family members, but which reaches the prisoners infrequently;

wrote a major article entitled "CIA's 'mission' against Hussein has a familiar ring to it."

The article reveals that when George Bush ordered the CIA "last weekend ... to overthrow Iraqi leader Saddam Hussein; a small circle of Americans felt a sense of *déjà vu*. This was not the first time that the CIA had been asked to overthrow a radical Iraqi leader who was believed to oppose American interests."

The story told by this small circle of Americans "and other former CIA officers" contains, McConnell writes, the same elements of the new agency effort, "including Iraqi threats to invade Kuwait and Saddam Hussein."

A recent book, *Ropes of Sand*, by former CIA operations officer Wilbur Crane Eveland, is cited, revealing that Washington maintained a major spy operation in Iraq. It reported that "most Iraqis were unhappy with government nepotism and British influence over oil revenues" and was "quickly chastened" for its assessment.

The book discloses that the coup led by Abdul Karim Qassim against Nuri es-Said did not, initially, alarm the CIA or Washington. Rather it was the radicalization unleashed in the population which obliged the regime to shift left and mobilized the CIA. When the government lifted the ban on the Iraqi Communist Party:

"This was too much for CIA officials. CIA Director Allen Dulles hatched a plot to 'incapacitate' Colonel Qassim. The job was assigned to the CIA's euphemistically named Technical Services Division, or TSD."

Sidney Gottlieb, the head of the Technical Services Division in 1960, launched a program to eliminate Qassim. One plan "was to give Qassim a handkerchief that had been treated with poison at the CIA-Army chemical-warfare facility at Fort Detrick, Maryland." This was not the first attempt by the CIA to assassinate Abdul Karim Qassim, nor was it the last. The CIA's evaluation is instructive:

"Qassim continued to alienate both the United States and Britain. Despite Iraq's opposition, neighboring Kuwait, until then British colony, was declared independent in 1961. Iraq had opposed Kuwait's very existence for much of the century. It looked upon Kuwait, situated on land between Iraq and the Persian Gulf, as an artificial British creation to weaken Iraq and keep it from easy access to the Gulf. Qassim's threats to Kuwait were countered by Britain, which rushed in troops."

McConnell recounts the unrelenting campaign by the U.S. government to murder Qassim and overthrow his government. Finally, "in February 1963, everything changed. A second coup shook Iraq, ousting and killing Qassim. This was the result it had sought for five years. The CIA ... undertook an airlift of arms into Iraq to help ... the coup

plotters and ... help solidify their control among the coup plotters." (op. cit.)

The operation to murder Qassim resulted from his "disappointing" the CIA, who, it now emerges, had arranged for Nuri es-Said to be deprived of the support of his Royal Guard in the expectation that a military coup would assuage popular anger. The popular uprising, however, forced the Qassim regime left, bringing the CIA into action to select a more pliable "replacement."

McConnell reveals the real dynamics of the events in the 1950s and their resonance today:

"Bruce T. Odell headed the CIA airlift under the cover of special assistant to the U.S. ambassador to Iraq. In an interview last week, he called the airlift successful."

The group in the Ba'ath Party who made the coup for the CIA were competing for CIA favor in replacing Abdul Karim Qassim. Each had vied in attempts to assassinate Qassim under CIA guidance. The group which actually replaced Qassim was dubbed "the centrists" by Odell:

"The 'centrists,' Odell confided, "were much friendlier to the West. *They dropped opposition to Kuwait's independence and entry into the United Nations.*"

McConnell reveals a piquant twist to these events regarding a young Iraqi under Odell's direction:

"The story, however does not end there. Odell recalled waiting in a Baghdad hotel. 'There I met Saddam Hussein. Saddam Hussein was a prominent member of the right-wing faction.'"

In 1968, Odell's right-wing client, Saddam Hussein and other members of his faction "would defeat the 'centrists.'"

The role of Saddam Hussein, whom Eveland exposed as the point man for the CIA, was also disclosed by Jack Anderson on October 28, 1990, in a syndicated column entitled "Is Saddam Really As Bad As They Say?" Anderson writes, "At twenty-four, he unquestionably tried to assassinate Abdul Karim Qassim," describing one of the operations of the CIA in Baghdad.

Miller and Mylroic confirm these accounts. A year after Qassim overthrew the monarchy, a group "tried to seize power by machine-gunning Qassim's car in broad daylight. Saddam was a member of the hit team. ... He had already proven his mettle, or in the jargon of the American underworld, had 'made his bones,' by murdering a Communist supporter of Qassim in Takrit."

What ensued was a generalized slaughter of the left. Communist Party members, trade unionists, radicals of every tendency were tortured and killed, the CIA giving direction. According to Miller and Mylroic, "Saddam quickly found his place in the new regime. He

Israel. Soviet immigrants are given jobs that had been performed by Palestinians. Whole villages are without work or income. ... "The problem is, the Israeli authorities are trying to starve the Palestinians. ... The Israelis think, because of this policy, they can impose any solution on us," said Said, a Haifa construction worker whose job went to a Soviet emigre." (Ibid.)

The Israeli authorities continue to turn the screws. "Frustration mounts with massive unemployment," writes Kim Murphy. Residents of the West Bank and Gaza have now been forbidden to work in Israel. Palestinians within Israel are being consigned to permanent unemployment as Soviet, Ethiopian and other immigrants are deployed as an army of replacement workers.

"War on the Camps"

On March 8 a secret meeting took place in Damascus between officials of Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Egypt, Syria, Lebanon and the United States, where it was decided that the 20,000 Palestinian fighters in Lebanon who protect the refugee camps would be disarmed.

The decision to wage yet another "War of the Camps," targeting the only sector of the Palestinian diaspora capable of self-defense, is explained by Youssef M. Ibrahim in the July 8 *New York Times*. Ibrahim concludes that it is not only Israel which is seeking to destroy the Palestinian movement, but also "leading Arab countries, including Syria, Egypt and Saudi Arabia."

The armed attack on the Palestinian camps in Lebanon is inseparably linked to the war being waged against Palestinians in the Gulf and within Israel. Nor was that attack directed against "guerrillas."

"The economic standards, education and living conditions of Palestinians, be they inside the occupied territories or in exile, have seriously deteriorated," Ibrahim writes. "In the Gulf, those who used to make up the wealthiest segment of the estimated 4 million dispersed Palestinians are being chased out of Kuwait and other oil-producing Arab countries."

"In the occupied territories, formal education has come to a virtual halt, merchants have gone bankrupt as the price paid for continuing the *Intifada*. Finally, the flood of Soviet Jews to Israel is changing the balance of population." [emphasis added]

Meanwhile, Israel's prime minister "plans to ask for U.S. guarantees on \$10 billion in loans it needs to fund housing and jobs for Soviet immigrants." (*Los Angeles Times*, July 5, 1991)

Prison conditions in Israel were described in 1978 by Israeli investigative reporter, Yair Kulter, as "hell on earth." Their dramatic worsening since the Gulf War is but a component of the coordinated, if undeclared war upon the entire Palestinian population. The unprece-

purchasing power of Palestinians in both Jordan and the Occupied Territories.

The pogrom against the Palestinian people has been carried out against a backdrop of seizure of property and assets comparable to the wholesale confiscation of Palestinian property, land and assets carried out by the Zionist movement in the wake of its own forced expulsion of the Palestinians.

"Bringing Resistance to its Knees"

Kim Murphy makes clear that the purpose of this assault is to bring the Palestinian resistance to its knees *inside* the territory occupied by Israel. Under the heading "Gulf War Still Rages for Arabs in Occupied Lands," Murphy writes:

"An estimated sixty percent of the Palestinians in the Occupied Territories have lost their jobs. ... For those still working, the answers, are wait and see. 'Our life is like the life of a dog, and the lives of dogs are better than ours now,' said Ahmed, thirty-five, an agricultural worker who stood on the roadside on a recent morning to see if any farmers needed help that day. He supports a family of twelve living in one and a half rooms in Gaza's legendary Jabaliya refugee camp, the birthplace of the Intifada."

The cut-off of funds from outside has been matched by a concerted effort by the Israeli authorities to starve out the Palestinian population. "The Gulf War is still being waged in the West Bank and Gaza. Massive unemployment, sharply reduced agricultural production, a cut-off in wages sent home from family members in Kuwait ... have threatened to strangle the three-year-old Intifada more effectively than the Israeli armies' attempts to stamp it out." (Ibid.)

All 1.75 million Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza were under curfew during the war. Factories have shut down, employees have been prevented from going to work and crops have been abandoned, decaying in the fields.

"The result: more than half the workers from the West Bank and Gaza have lost their jobs. Travel restrictions between cities have made it difficult for factories to start up again. Total agricultural production is down eighty percent. Several West Bank economists have estimated the total loss to the Palestinian economy ... is about \$600 million, more than a third of their total annual income." (Ibid.)

In many villages unemployment has reached ninety percent. Families are surviving on flour and olive oil. "There has been almost no meat or vegetables since the war began. Water is pumped only twice a week. Raw sewage runs along paths. Most villagers now drink from buckets." (Ibid)

These conditions in the West Bank and Gaza are being replicated in

became an interrogator and torturer in the Qasr-al-Nihayyah, or "Palace of the End."

By 1965, Saddam Hussein's older cousin, Gen. Ahmad Hassan al-Bakr became secretary-general of the Ba'ath Party, backed by Odell. By 1966, Saddam was made deputy secretary-general. On July 30, 1968, "Saddam and his Baathist comrades succeeded in seizing and holding state power. Bakr became president and commander in chief. ... Saddam was made deputy chairman of the Revolutionary Council in charge of internal security."

Walking the Tightrope

The relationship between the series of CIA backed regimes in Baghdad and the posture of Iraqi governments towards imperialism centered on Kuwait. It was within days after Nuri es-Said prepared to go public with his demand for the recovery of Kuwait that he was overthrown.

The Qassim government was no less adamant about Kuwait. When Britain announced Kuwaiti "independence" in 1961, a collateral agreement between Sheikh Abdallah as-Salim as-Sabah of Kuwait and the British government was announced. Abdul Karim Qassim held a press conference on June 25, 1961, and declared:

"Iraq regards Kuwait as an integral part of its territory; it does not recognize the special relationship agreement between Britain and Kuwait signed on June 19, 1961, by Sheikh Abdallah as-Salim as-Sabah of Kuwait together with British political resident in the Gulf, M.G. Mead."

It was following this announcement that Britain massed forces in the Gulf and in Kuwait. From 1961 to 1963, however, Kuwait was unable to gain admission to the United Nations. After the overthrow of Abdul Karim Qassim, the "prime minister" of Kuwait visited Baghdad. For the first time in thirty years a joint statement was issued based upon the 1932 correspondence.

In 1932, the British government had forced the Iraqi prime minister, virtually at gun point, to enter into correspondence with the British agent in Baghdad on setting boundaries on the basis of draft agreements between the Ottoman and British governments. The Iraqi Chamber of Deputies had defied the British and refused to sanction the correspondence, giving rise to a popular movement in Kuwait and Iraq, which continued through the 1930s, demanding the recovery of Kuwait.

In 1963, with the overthrow of Qassim, the 1932 correspondence was resurrected for the first time with the joint statement in Baghdad. Once again, however, it was met by popular resistance in Iraq, obliging the National Revolutionary Command Council, the legislative authori-

ly under the provisional constitution of 1963, following the overthrow of Qassim, to reject the joint statement.

The official policy of successive Iraqi regimes remained what it had been since the last century, that Kuwait was an integral part of its territory.

With the assumption of power by Saddam Hussein from July 17 to July 30, 1968, a shift occurred. Hussein, in the words of Foreign Minister Tariq Aziz, "was bent upon reaching a settlement of the problem as would provide for a *reasonable measure of the historic rights of Iraq as well as redress a part, limited though it might be*, of the grievous wrong inflicted on Iraq since the beginning of this century."

Throughout the 1970s the regime of Saddam Hussein attempted a compromise with the Kuwaiti rulers wherein Iraq would gain access to its former islands on the Gulf. As Tariq Aziz put it:

"During the seventies it was Iraq which took the initiative in approaching the rulers of Kuwait for such a settlement but, with the encouragement of their foreign power allies, they always insisted that Iraq accept the measures imposed by British colonial power."

The minister of foreign affairs of Iraq visited Kuwait city in 1972 with a specific proposal wherein Iraq's claim to its former district would be abrogated in exchange for "border adjustments." Iraq's minister of foreign affairs was back in Kuwait again in 1973 "to discuss the subject."

These attempts at accommodation continued. On May 16, 1978, the Iraqi minister of internal affairs went to Kuwait to discuss the border, notably because the border was "ereeping North." Several committees were established but nothing was agreed.

The Plot Thickens

With the revolution in Iran and the overthrow of the shah, Saddam Hussein formally replaced al Bakr as president of Iraq. Palestinian witnesses recount a secret meeting which took place in Kuwait between Zbigniew Brzezinski, Saddam Hussein, the Kuwaiti emir and the Saudi rulers.

A decision was taken whereby Saddam Hussein was to be "compensated," but at a price. During the revolution of 1978-79 in Iran, the deputy commander of the American forces in Europe, Gen. Robert E. Huyser, was sent to Teheran. For six months he took over the top floor of the Teheran Hilton, establishing a Council of Generals.

Plans were made for a military seizure of power, intended to abort the revolution by removing the shah in the name of "patriotic officers." The obstacle was the fear that the coup would precipitate a generalized uprising in which rank and file soldiers would point their weapons at

since." (Ibid)

The home of the widow of recently assassinated Palestinian leader Abu Iyad was raided and destroyed. Bearing all the features of a pogrom, these savage attacks have not been confined to Palestinian political leaders. One prominent Palestinian businessman was assaulted in his home at 3 a.m. by ten militia "soldiers" who "took his three-year-old daughter and beat her hands with a rifle until they were broken." (Ibid.)

Describing the systematic raids under the orders and command of the brothers of the emir, Murphy concludes: "Kuwait, home of the richest community of the Palestinian diaspora ... has become a virtual chamber of horrors for Palestinians."

A War of Attrition

The reign of terror against Palestinians in Kuwait has been replicated throughout the region. Qatar has expelled virtually its entire Palestinian community. Five of the six Gulf states have prevented Palestinians from remitting earnings to the West Bank and Gaza and have suspended aid that had exceeded \$1 billion over a decade.

Saudi Arabia has removed Palestinians from key government ministries. Foreign Ministry officials in Egypt announced that Arafat "has not been and will not be invited to Cairo."

Bishara A. Bahbah disclosed in a document titled "Economic Consequences for the Palestinians," the hidden agenda underlying the war of attrition being waged against Palestinian inhabitants of the Arab states, notably in the Gulf.

"The ... final blow came with the crisis in the Gulf and the loss of substantial Arab aid to the Occupied Territories. ... At the outset of Intifada, per-capita income in the West Bank and Gaza was \$1600; now it is no more than \$800."

A drop of fifty percent in earnings for Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza is only the initial effect of the cut-off of funds from the exiled Palestinian population to Palestinians under Israeli control. The more than 200,000 Palestinians who have fled from Kuwait have lost \$150 million. Palestinians remaining in Kuwait have lost \$270 million, seized by the authorities.

Bahbah estimates that total annual losses in income to the Palestinian population exceed \$1.4 billion. These figures do not include \$12 billion of lost property, securities, stocks and other assets plus an additional \$5 billion of Palestinian deposits in Kuwaiti banks, which have been seized.

In addition, the economic pressure on Jordan led to an immediate twenty percent drop in the value of the dinar, crippling, thereby, the

The Ongoing War Against the Palestinian People

In the aftermath of the Gulf war, an all-out assault has been launched against the Palestinian people. Centered initially in Kuwait and the Gulf Emirates, Palestinians find themselves under siege not only in Israel, the West Bank and Gaza, but throughout the Arab world.

Writing in the *Los Angeles Times* (July 5 and 6, 1991), Kim Murphy describes what has befallen the Palestinian diaspora. Under the heading "Palestinian Hopes at Dead End," Murphy describes the vast pogrom unfolding against the Palestinian inhabitants of Kuwait.

"Palestinians compare the occupation and subsequent deportation, arrests, torture and harassment that are driving Kuwait's roughly 400,000 Palestinians from the Gulf, to the 'catastrophe,' the Palestinian exodus from Israel when the Jewish state was created. ... A senior Kuwaiti official vowed, 'Let them be relegated to the forgotten. ... Every one of them is a ticking time bomb.'"

"Chamber of Horrors"

Mohamed Merzoug, a Palestinian diplomat who had been in charge of "general affairs" of the Palestinian population in Kuwait, depicted the secret militia and death squads set up in Kuwait under the guidance of U.S. special forces after the return of the emir.

Under the direction of former Kuwaiti Foreign Minister Sheikh As Sabah El Ahmed and another senior member of the royal family, Djerrah As Sabah, these "militia" operate in police stations and schools.

"All forms of torture have been carried out against Palestinian youth," Merzoug told the Algerian daily *El Moudjahid* (June 17, 1991). Palestinian women and their infants have been taken to police stations and then produced before family members "completely disguised by torture."

In the police stations, fifty Palestinians are held in cells fifteen by fifteen feet. The heat is suffocating, the air unbreathable. Women with infants are among those packed in these cells. "Each time an infant cries, the mother is automatically tortured. ... Palestinian youth are sodomized."

Nor are the prominent spared. Kim Murphy tells how Kuwaiti senior ranking army officers "stormed the home of Ali al Hassan, brother of Hani al Hassan (Yasir Arafat's close adviser). They shot him in the legs and ribs. Fifteen young Palestinian supporters have not been seen

their officers.

The CIA and General Huyser evolved a back-up plan, wherein one of the shah's commanders, General Oveisi, would seize control of the oil producing province of Khuzistan and declare a separatist state, thereby denuding Iran of its primary resource and income.

The scale of the Iranian revolution prevented the coup. The shah's generals were scattered. Huyser's plan, however, was revised. The shah had oppressed Iran's national minorities, notably the Azerbaijani Turks in the North and the Arab minority of some 6 million in the South. It was the Arab minority which inhabited Khuzistan, which the Arab world called "Arabistan."

Brzezinski proposed to Saddam Hussein that he invade Iran and detach Khuzistan, thereby giving Iraq access to the Gulf through the Shatt-al-Arab, the narrow waterway between Iraq and Iran. The Khomeini regime had betrayed the aspirations of the national minorities of Iran — from the Turks and the Kurds to the Arabs of the south — continuing the shah's policy of Farsi (Persian) domination.

Admiral Madani, the governor of Khuzistan, began to suppress the Arab minority in general and the oil workers in particular. It was assumed, therefore, that an Iraqi invasion would be seen by the Arab minority as an army of liberation from Farsi domination and that the seizure of the oil fields of Khuzistan would be facilitated by the population.

In fact, the Arab minority in Khuzistan consisted of the oil workers at the great refineries of Ahwaz and Abadan, among the most militant and radicalized sector of the Iranian workers. The oil workers had provided the backbone of the National Front of Mohammed Mossadegh, whose overthrow of the shah in 1953 led to a CIA coup removing Mossadegh and re-instating the shah. The oil workers were strong supporters of both the National Front and of the Tudeh Party, the Communist Party of Iran.

It was the protracted general strike of the oil workers, over the objections of Ayatollah Khomeini himself, which had broken the back of the shah's regime. Khomeini had feared that the oil workers — radical and secular — would displace the mullahs of the Islamic Republic and overthrow the capitalist order.

Nonetheless, when Iraq invaded, the oil workers and the Arab minority perceived the invasion as an attack on the revolution itself. They resisted.

The secret meeting in Kuwait promised Saddam Hussein the financial support of the Kuwaiti and Saudi regimes for his invasion, an attack upon the Iranian revolution designed to prevent revolutionary sentiment from spreading among the oppressed peoples of the Emirates and of Saudi Arabia itself.

When Saddam Hussein invaded Iran, Iraq had some \$40 billion in hard currency reserves. The resistance of the Iranian population resulted in a protracted eight-year war, during which Iraq was armed by the United States and Western Europe and bankrolled by the rulers of Kuwait and Saudi Arabia.

But there was yet another secret agenda. The failure of Iraq to amputate Khuzistan from revolutionary Iran, even as Kuwait had been severed from Iraq, led the United States and Israel secretly to arm the Iranians, with the intention of bleeding both countries white and, thereby, weakening each. Some 500,000 would be killed and maimed in the course of the war between Iran and Iraq.

Meanwhile, while Saddam Hussein was doing the bidding of the United States and Kuwait's rulers through the war against Iran, the Kuwaitis were steadily encroaching north, notably into the area overlapping the great Rumaila oil reserve of Iraq.

Iraq's foreign minister, Tariq Aziz, would observe:

"It should be noted that for the entire period ... (when) Iraq was preoccupied with its internal problems and regional affairs, including, most recently, the eight-year long war between Iraq and Iran, the rulers of Kuwait were taking advantage of the situation to advance northwards, where they established control posts, military installations, farms and oil facilities."

These encroachments were not haphazard. The floating border enlarged Kuwait by over 900 square miles until the southern tier of the Rumaila reserve was under Kuwaiti occupation.

The sheikh now purchased the Santa Fe Drilling Corporation of Alhambra, California, for a sum of \$2.3 billion. Santa Fe Drilling was noted for its sophisticated "slant" drilling equipment, wherein oil drilling proceeded not vertically but horizontally. For years, Kuwait proceeded to drill deep into the Rumaila reserve in Iraq, extracting billions of dollars of Iraqi oil.

The pillage began with the overthrow of Abdul Karim Qassim and the de facto recognition of Kuwait by the Aref regime.

"A Family Owned Oil Company"

During the colloquy between congressional representatives, both Republican and Democratic, broadcast on Cable News Network (August 11, 1990), Representative Barnes asked Les Aspin, chairperson of the House Committee on Foreign Relations:

"Chairman Aspin, every time I see the emir of Kuwait on television, I wonder exactly what the principle is that President Bush said the U.S. is fighting for in that region. Presumably, our goal is to reinstall him as the head of a non-democracy, this country Kuwait, which has been

"The second stage of Kurdish nationalism," Gharceb writes, "was influenced by the overthrow of the Russian, Austro-Hungarian and Ottoman empires and the concurrent spread of revolutionary ideas. No less influential was the rise of nationalism among Arabs and Armenians and the power vacuum created by the collapse of the Ottoman Empire."

Kurdish independence committees were formed in Cairo and Istanbul in 1918. The British and French attempted to play off Armenians against Kurds by supporting an Armenian state in Kurdish territory. Kurdish leaders responded by approaching Armenian nationalists with a proposal for joint struggle.

As a result, Kurdish and Armenian leaders presented a joint memorandum to the Peace Conference in Paris in 1919, outlining their demands for independence. To placate the insurgent Kurdish and Armenian population, the imperial powers recognized "the rights of both peoples to form independent states in the Treaty of Severs, Articles 62, 63 and 64.

These fine promises were completely betrayed with the signing of the Lausanne Treaty of 1923. Gharceb describes the fate of the Kurds at the hands of the European powers:

"The Severs-Lausanne period presents ... a tragic incident in the Kurdish struggle. The recurring and unfulfilled promises led many Kurds to feel — as they have many times since — that they were expendable tools in the hands of the great powers. After Severs, the creation of new national boundaries, distributed the Kurds among several countries — Turkey, Iran and Iraq." Syria, Lebanon and the Soviet Union would be further repositories of the Kurdish diaspora.

good." ("The Case for Action," *Newsweek*, April 15, 1991)

We learn, as well, that last year Syria allowed seventeen Iraqi groups, including Kurdish exiles, to meet in Damascus and form a coalition. The coalition called for a multiparty democracy. The alarm signals went up. This call was "something that Syria and other U.S. allies, including Saudi Arabia and Kuwait, are not ready to tolerate among their own people. Even Israel does not want democracy in Iraq." (Ibid.)

"If Iraq becomes a democracy, it will be an anti-Israel democracy," says Mideast expert Amatzia Baram of Haifa University. ... Washington thinks it can arrange for Saddam to be overthrown by the country's Sunni Muslim elite, without jumping into the middle of a free-for-all civil war on behalf of the Kurdish and Shi'ite insurgents.

"Washington's best-case scenario is that a relatively moderate new dictator will emerge from the armed forces or the Ba'ath party — someone strong enough to hold the country together." (Ibid.)

The oppressed, so long betrayed and forever victimized, from Baghdad to the streets of Harlem and Los Angeles, are witnessing the real face of the rulers in Washington in the images finally appearing on the covers of *Time*, *Newsweek*, and on our television screens.

This is the "New World Order" of George Bush and his class — in cynical, murderous collusion with Gorbachev, Li Peng, the Kuwaiti emir — and Saddam Hussein.

The Kurds: An Age-Old Struggle for Self-Determination

At the time of the Ottoman Empire, the colonial powers, notably Great Britain and France, instigated popular revolt among the Arab masses against Ottoman rule with promises of independence, all of which were betrayed as France and Britain drew arbitrary boundaries in the sand and mountains and divided the Arab nation among them.

Edmund Ghareeb in his book *The Kurdish Question in Iraq* (Syracuse University Press, 1981), describes the extent to which the Kurdish national movement has been an integral part of the anti-colonial struggle of the subject peoples of the region since the sixteenth century. At first, Kurdish nationalists attempted to link their movement to the reform movements in Turkey and Iran, notably with the "constitutionalists," in the hope of winning, thereby, self-rule for Kurdistan.

As the Turkish national movement opposed the aspirations of national minorities within Turkey, Kurdish leaders first sought direct British supervision, as had the Arabs. And like the Arabs, the Kurds now "demanded full independence."

described as a family-owned oil company with a seat in the U.N. by a *New York Times* reporter. What is the principle involved here?"

The reply from Aspin indicated their difficulty in agreeing on the rationale to place before the American public:

"Yes, I think we've got to be very careful because I don't think we have articulated our principle. I think we're about to find ourselves losing what we're trying to get through the back door here."

Creating an artificial territory on the Persian Gulf which would facilitate British domination of the Mesopotamian interior had given rise to forty years of resistance. Each time Britain selected local traditional rulers who would do their bidding, these very rulers proved unreliable. However dependent they were upon British military support, their ability to rule depended upon the pretense that they reflected the unquenchable desire of the populace for national independence and control over their natural resources.

The task of subjugating Kuwait required "severing its human and political ties to Iraq," in the formulation of Lt. Col. H.R.P. Dickson. Dickson was described by the Middle Eastern scholar, Emil Lengyel, as "a member of a distinguished family of British colonial officials, Britain's chief political agent in the (Kuwaiti) Sheikdom ... and ... the chief local representative of the Kuwait Oil Company."

In his book, *Kuwait and Her Neighbors* (Macmillan, 1956), Dickson offered an eyewitness account of the process through which Kuwait was subordinated to British imperial rule and how its "borders" were contrived. Reviewing the book in *The Saturday Review* (October 2, 1956), Lengyel observed:

"Colonel Dickson was an eyewitness at a between-the-wars Middle Eastern 'summit' conference at which the majestic King Ibn Saud acted in a surprisingly unmajestic way. The parley had been called to determine the frontiers between Kuwait and her neighbors under the chairmanship of Sir Percy Cox, British high commissioner in Mesopotamia. King Saud pressed for a line which the conferees considered outrageous. The Olympian British pro-consul thereupon bawled out the King as if talking to a naughty schoolboy."

"... Ibn Saud broke down so completely that he pleaded with Sir Percy to draw the boundary himself, calling him his 'father and mother,' to whom he owed everything."

Lengyel explains that the Kuwaiti sheikh and Saudi king were "direct instruments" of British colonial control but that Dickson was troubled by the necessity to concede oil revenue to the client-sheikhs:

"It was only a few years ago that it was discovered that the underpinnings of the dreary desert sheikdom of Kuwait, at the head of the Persian Gulf, are soaked in one of the world's largest oil pools. ... Last year the ruler of 6000 square mile [sic] Kuwait drew \$200 million in

oil revenue — fabulous for this British-protected Arab land.”

At the time, Dickson objected to allowing even a fraction of the revenues to reach the sheikhs, fearful that however minimally loosed among the peoples from whom the resources derived, the inevitable consequence would be to intensify popular resentment and resistance.

“Colonel Dickson is too much the old-line colonial official to like the new version of the Arabian Nights being acted out in Kuwait today. He likes progress in small doses, judiciously mixed with tradition. He is afraid that petroleum will stain the desert with venality.”

The Dickson approach was shared by the oil consortia but it was a strategy which could not endure. It was a policy which, in the words of David Lamb, “ignored growing Arab nationalism ... and the Arabs’ bitterness at being exploited by foreigners, from the Ottoman Turks to American oilmen who, in the 1930s, were paying the sheikh of Jeddah one dollar per ton for Saudi oil that they then sold in the United States for fifty cents a barrel.” (*Los Angeles Times*, August 17, 1990)

The necessity to “cut in” dependent rulers had the effect, however, of rendering traditional rulers as remote from their subject populations as the imperial governments on whose military intervention they must finally depend.

A special report by John Law, entitled “Country That Oil Built: Quick Rise to Riches,” was published in *U.S. News & World Report* on June 13, 1966. The report details “what happens when a poverty-ridden country discovers it is sitting on a vast fortune in oil.” Law describes how but twenty years earlier (1946), Kuwait “was a cluster of baked-mud huts set on the edge of the hot and steamy Gulf. The streets ... were little more than narrow alleyways. ... Its people scratched out a living.” Under British control “the ruler of Kuwait was a tribal sheikh whose word was law and who was responsible only to himself. There was no parliament, no newspaper, no national budget. Justice was ... harsh.”

The income assigned to the Kuwaiti regime in 1966 was “\$650 million a year.” Law is crystal clear about how this dispensation was designed to be used. “The wealth this oil has brought to Kuwait makes an enormous impact, partly because the country is so small. The reigning emir, Sheikh Sabah al-Salim al-Sabah, (has) stashed away \$350 million. His uncle, Sheikh Abdullah Mubarak, who now lives abroad and only occasionally returns to Kuwait for a visit has assets worth \$250 million.”

There were in 1966 1000 millionaires in a population of 468,000. The regime had initiated “very little manufacturing and even less agriculture.” If 8 million gallons a day of water were generated by the “world’s biggest sea-water distillation system,” the artificial nature of Kuwait, when separated from Iraq, was unmistakable:

will turn into an embittered stateless and disruptive population.”

In short, in Iraq the Kurds are a potentially “destabilizing” or revolutionary force. In exile, they inspire demands for self-determination among their fellow oppressed Kurds. Like the Palestinian people, to whose fate the Kurdish people bear verisimilitude, the Kurds have become, like the Armenians before them, “a people too many.”

Bush’s “New World Order”

U.S. officials are no longer hiding their real agenda. Discussing the Kurds, one of the administration’s senior Middle East analysts states:

“Their slogan has been ‘Democracy for Iraq and autonomy for Kurdistan.’ Few in Washington believe them. It’s autonomy today, but a separate state tomorrow. We all know that.” (“Could The Rebels Really Rule?” *Newsweek*, April 15, 1991)

Another article in the same issue of *Newsweek* (“The Case Against Action,” April 15, 1991), is equally revealing:

“The Kurds are a potentially troublesome minority not only in Iraq, but in Syria, Turkey, Iran and the Soviet Union. Governments in the region fear that the rise of an independent Kurdistan would threaten their own borders.” A senior Egyptian military official echoes this sentiment. Cairo “considers it better to have a weakened Saddam in power than a splintered Iraq. We do not want a strong and vigorous Kurdish movement.”

As to the Shi’ites:

“The fact is that neither the United States nor its allies want the insurgents to succeed. The Shi’ites, a downrotdden majority in Iraq, are pro-Iranian, which alarms Washington and allies as diverse as Saudi Arabia and Israel. Says an official in Jerusalem, ‘We don’t want a Shi’ite based regime in Iraq, which would be even more militant than Saddam towards Israel.’” (*ibid.*)

The Bush administration is quite clear about who its real clients are:

“Iraq’s Sunni Arab minority, traditionally the source of its ruling class, has been largely passive through the recent uprisings. ... Yet it is in this amorphous group that the administration puts its hopes. ‘You’ve got to get that heartland group.’ President Bush, by calling on members of Saddam’s clique of Army officers to overthrow him, is essentially appealing to that traditional Sunni elite.” (“Could the Rebels Really Rule?” *Newsweek*, April 15, 1991)

Again and again the U.S. intent is exposed. “CIA and Pentagon analysts told the White House last week that putting down the Kurds and Shi’ites has bolstered Saddam’s position in Baghdad. ‘We see him in a much stronger position now than ever before,’ one intelligence official said. ... By now, it may be too late for U.S. intervention to do any

"Before Saddam invaded Kuwait, the Arabs always wanted to keep the American military presence over the horizon. ... But as events last week simply underscored, the American military is in the Middle East to stay."

The United States has reverted to the status quo that existed before the war. Having destroyed Iraq's social and economic infrastructure, thereby rendering Iraq a state permanently dependent, U.S. rulers are in *de-facto* alliance with the Saddam Hussein regime and conscious accomplices of its attempt to solve the "Kurdish question" the way the Israelis "solved" the Palestinian presence — by slaughter, induced panic and, thereby, driving the population out.

Nowhere to Go — "A People Too Many"

The principal reason why over 200,000 Kurds are trapped on the mountaintops around Turkish Hakkari is described by *Newsweek*: "[T]he Turks adamantly refuse to let them cross the frontier. The Turks fear that the refugees will join Kurdish Turks in forming a political bloc demanding more autonomy than Ankara is willing to grant."

"The Kurds on Dugen mountain are not permitted to descend into the valley below because that would mean allowing them deeper into Turkey. So ... Turkish doctors waiting with medicine and ambulances in Cizre, twenty-nine miles away, cannot reach them." (April 22, 1991)

Turkish soldiers fire on Kurds attempting to descend the mountains. "There seems to be little hope of persuading any of Iraq's neighbors to let in unlimited numbers of Kurds: Syria and Iran, which have large indigenous Kurdish populations, share Turkey's fears of internal political disruption." (Ibid.)

Nor did the tentatively proposed "safe-havens" in Iraq find support. The Soviet Union, China and India expressed fear of intervention regarding their treatment of the Baltic Republics, Tibet or Kashmir.

Nor did the U.S. putative bar to Iraqi military action above the 36th parallel prove serious. Brent Scowcroft disclosed to Sam Donaldson on ABC's "Meet the Press" (April 14, 1991) that "battles continue between Kurdish forces and the Republican Guards of Saddam Hussein." "Battles?" queried Donaldson. "You mean between Kurdish boys with small arms and helicopter gun ships and artillery of the Iraqi army?" Scowcroft acknowledged that the United States regarded its "interdiction" to apply only to "fleeing refugees."

The United States had given Saddam Hussein the green light to drive out the Kurds, in the same way it had previously induced Saddam Hussein to invade Iran and later Kuwait.

Disclosing that the United States had no intention of permitting Kurds to remain in a "safe haven," *Newsweek* explains: "The danger is that a safe haven will become the semi-permanent home of Kurds who

"There still is not enough water to cultivate Kuwait's barren tracts of desert. That may come later when a scheme to pipe water from Iraq's Euphrates and Tigris rivers comes into operation."

The 400,000 Kuwaiti citizens were not to be trusted as a work-force. "The great proportion of all productive work is done by foreigners. ... Some observers have compared the set-up here to a master and slave society." The foreigners are Egyptians, Palestinians, Jordanians, Lebanese, Iranians, Indians and Pakistanis. They filled ninety-five percent of teaching posts, worked as administrative assistants in government offices, accountants, engineers, mechanics, laboratory technicians, assistant managers in commercial offices, bank clerks, lawyers, doctors, shopkeepers and cooks.

"Of the 24,300 people in manufacturing and services, only 400 are Kuwaitis. It is the foreigners, too, who do all the menial jobs — sweeping streets, collecting garbage."

But these foreign workers are not allowed to own businesses, have even minority shares of banking or insurance enterprises, obtain any kind of import license, own any land, own a house or join a labor union.

In addition, foreign workers are segregated in separate residential areas "one for Palestinians, another for Egyptians, and so on." As to members of the royal family, "Kuwait has its share of royal playboys ... still going to Beirut or Paris giving away \$100 bills as if they were pennies."

— Part 3 —

After the assassination of Abdul Karim Qassim in February 1963, the Kuwaiti regime felt emboldened to establish a border post. A crossing point was created at Mithlaa in Basra province and passports recently issued by Kuwait were stamped at Mithlaa for departure.

Ever since, the border has been shifted north by increments. In the words of Iraqi Foreign Minister Tariq Aziz:

"The crossing point has now been advanced seventy kilometers to the North in order to present Iraq, preoccupied as it was by its internal as well as regional problems, with a *fait accompli*." The 900 square miles added to Kuwait's floating border provided the requisite access to the Rumaila field.

But the dispute between Iraq and the Kuwaiti emir did not center solely on territory or physical possession of the oil reserves. Having fallen \$80 billion in debt, Saddam Hussein was now pressed by his feudal paymasters in Kuwait and Saudi Arabia for repayment with

interest. The principal source of hard currency earnings, namely petroleum, was highly susceptible to price fluctuations pegged to production quotas.

Iraq and other OPEC members began to argue for production quotas which would enable producing States to exercise some modicum of control over price structures. Although billions of dollars are earned from crude oil, these earnings paled before the profits made from refined products, and from the distribution and processing of petroleum. Virtually every commodity has a petroleum or distillate component, from plastics to synthetics. Petroleum based manufacture is monopolized by the imperial states.

With the end of the Iran-Iraq war, Saddam Hussein found that his erstwhile allies among the Emirates, Kuwait, Saudi Arabia and Egypt no longer were willing to hold to OPEC decisions on production. Even when decisions were taken to fix production levels, the Emirates, and notably Kuwait, would flood the market. Protests from Iraq, Libya, Iran and others were met by increased naval activity in the Gulf by the United States.

In February 1990, Saddam Hussein spoke at the Amman Summit on the relationship between oil production and armed presence in the Gulf. Noting that the original pretext for the presence of the U.S. fleet, namely the Iran-Iraq war, was absent and yet the fleet remained and was being steadily augmented, Saddam Hussein began to sense that his usefulness to the United States was nearing an end. He said the following:

"The continued presence of the American fleet in the Gulf is due to the fact that, as a result of developments in the international political situation, developments in the prospects for the petroleum market and the growing need for petroleum among the Americans, Europeans, Japan, the East European States and the Soviet Union, the Gulf has emerged as the most important spot in the region, and it may even be the most important spot in the world. ...

"If the Gulf people and the rest of the Arabs along with them fail to take heed, the Arab Gulf region will be ruled by American will. Should weakness remain among us and we fail to heed what is now happening, matters will get to the point where the U.S. will dictate the quantity of oil or natural gas to be produced by each state, the quantity which can be sold to this or that state; and prices will be fixed — all on the basis of a special outlook which has to do solely with U.S. interests and in which no consideration is given to the interests of others."

Within days of this speech, the Western press began to carry stories about Saddam Hussein's missiles, chemical weapons and nuclear potential. The Israeli press openly speculated about pre-emptive strikes on the model of the Israeli attack on Iraq's nuclear power plant in

brate the fiftieth anniversary of the USO, Bush ordered American planes to air-drop food, blankets, clothing and other relief supplies. ... He promised up to \$10 million in emergency aid ... to keep the Kurds from starving and dying [at the rate of 1000 per day] while someone figures out what to do with them."

But as Church later exposed: Those supplies dropped from air or delivered "failed to get past the airport. Other supplies are rotting in the rain aboard trucks stuck on the dirt roads of southeastern Turkey." ("Death Every Day," *Newsweek*, April 22, 1991)

"U.S. Does Not Want a Rebellion"

In the course of covering the fate of the Kurdish rebellion which had been urged initially by the U.S. government, the U.S. press began to reveal the truth it had so assiduously suppressed.

Newsweek (April 1, 1991) now confirms that throughout Iraq "[t]he allied definition of military targets included all power-generating facilities. Plants that run on electricity have been crippled. There are no effective communications or transportation services. The breakdown of water-purification and sewage-treatment facilities has created an immediate threat of cholera. In Baghdad, water supplies are at less than ten percent of prewar levels."

The article admits that food supplies are "critically low" and "necessities now cost 1000 percent more than before. ... The price of a pound of rice is almost equivalent to the prewar daily wage of a typical civil servant. Malnutrition will compound the problem of disease. Epidemic and famine will ensue if massive life-supporting needs are not met."

These "revelations," beginning with the U.N. undersecretary-general's report and followed with the fate of the Kurds, have opened the journalistic floodgates. The same issue of *Newsweek* carried a story titled "What Is Bush Up To In Iraq?" We learn now that "The U.S. goal is 'two fold and somewhat contradictory,' according to a senior U.S. official. 'Washington wants an insurrection that will help topple Saddam. But the administration does not want a rebellion.'"

"Rather the hope is that the Iraqi army and the ruling Ba'ath Party will see that by clinging to power, Saddam is only leading his country to ruin," the article continues. "If he is overthrown, Iraq will remain unified, under an authoritarian regime. ... Revolutions are difficult to control and impossible to calibrate."

"Once these forces become unleashed, they are not simple to put back in the bottle," (Gen. Colin) Powell conceded. ... General Powell said ... that ultimately the Arabs will organize their own regional security structure. But he also revealed that the Pentagon's Central Command will be moving its permanent headquarters from Tampa, Florida, to an as-yet undisclosed location in the Persian Gulf.

regime — backed by the U.S. military and the CIA:

"Since 1975, four of every five Kurdish villages have been leveled; many of their residents have been moved to resettlement towns and detention camps in the southern deserts. When the U.S.-led coalition drove the Iraqi army from Kuwait, hundreds of thousands of displaced Kurds [were sent] north to claim their ancestral lands — only to be attacked by Saddam and forced to flee again."

U.S. journalists, who had colluded with the military in supine support of the official version of events, are now revealing the real nature of U.S. policy.

In an article entitled "The Course of Conscience" (*Newsweek*, April 15, 1991), George J. Church disclosed:

"As far as current policy goes, the wrangling is meaningless, because the fighting is effectively over. Right or wrong, the decision was made. ... Saddam has smashed the revolts; he will stay in power, at least temporarily — and for the moment that pretty much is that."

Church asks for "an immediate answer" to the question as to what "the United States and its friends will do to prevent more deaths among refugees from the failed rebellions. ... They number in the hundreds of thousands, if not millions. ... The argument is critical — especially since the response of Washington was pitifully inadequate."

Church appears perplexed: "The president not only failed to explain clearly why the U.S. was unwilling to support the [recent Kurdish] insurgents, but he seemed to show no mercy when their rebellion turned into a rout."

The Saddam Hussein regime was installed in a coup by the CIA in 1963, when Saddam Hussein was placed in charge of the slaughter and torture of tens of thousands of trade unionists, students, peasants leaders and the entire spectrum of the left.

Now, having demonized their client of twenty-seven years, U.S. rulers were hard put to explain away their tacit support for the regime's suppression of the Kurdish and Shi'a mass revolt.

Mary McGrory wrote in the *Washington Post*: "The sight of those wretched souls streaming into Turkey ... as Bush abandons them on the eighteenth hole of a Florida golf course, makes you wonder if in this case it is peace, rather than war, that is hell."

The public response to the U.S. betrayal of the Kurds frightened the White House. The Bush administration was compelled to make a few-facing saving humanitarian gestures to assist Kurdish refugees.

Newsweek reporter George Church reveals:

"It finally dawned even on the White House that the United States had a moral responsibility to do much more and quickly. From Newport Beach, California — en route to Los Angeles to help cele-

1981. In addition:

"Immediately thereafter," said Tariq Aziz, "the rulers of Kuwait — together with the Emirates — came up all of a sudden with calls for increases in their production quotas. Without waiting for discussion, they flooded the oil market with a huge surplus. Prices dropped from \$21 per barrel to as little as \$11 per barrel, which meant a loss of earnings amounting to billions of dollars under the trying circumstances for us brought about by the huge costs of the war."

Iraq sent envoys to Kuwait, the Emirates and Saudi Arabia, their but recent financial sponsors. They met with no response.

The Economic War Against Iraq

At the Arab Summit Conference in Baghdad from May 28-30, 1990, Saddam Hussein stated during a closed session:

"War is at times waged by troops, and harm is inflicted by explosions, by slaughter and by coup attempts; at other times, it is inflicted by way of the economy. To those who have no intention of waging war against Iraq, I say this is a kind of war against us."

At the end of June, Iraqi Deputy Prime Minister Saadoun Hammadi carried personal appeals from Saddam Hussein to King Fahd of Saudi Arabia, Jaber al-Ahmad and Sheikh Zayid of the Emirates proposing a solution based upon standard production quotas — as had been set by OPEC on numerous earlier occasions. Iraq proposed that quotas should allow crude oil to market at \$25 a barrel, a price which would permit reduction of the deficits arising from its war with Iran.

Price increases in crude oil bring billions in additional earnings to the producers. Consequently, the insistent lowering of *their own* earnings could only be construed by Iraq as a political decision aimed at destabilizing the Iraqi economy regime and the regime itself.

Iraq was rebuffed. Saddam Hussein now appealed for a meeting at the summit between the heads of state of Iraq, Kuwait, Saudi Arabia and the Emirates. This request was refused. A meeting was then proposed by Iraq between the oil ministers of the Gulf states.

The four oil ministers met on July 10, 1990. An agreement was reached to establish production quotas which would allow the price to float upward gradually. The day after the meeting had been concluded, however, the Kuwaiti oil minister announced to the press, after conferring with the emir, that Kuwait would *increase* production substantially by October 1990.

On July 16, 1990, Saddam Hussein made a speech in which he asserted that the deliberate flooding of the market had caused the price of Iraqi oil to drop from \$28 to \$11 per barrel, a loss to the Iraqi economy of \$14 billion in a matter of months. He accused the United States

of orchestrating an economic war against Iraq and issued a warning that Iraq could not afford to accept passively an effort to undercut its economy:

"Iraqis, on whom this deliberate injustice has been inflicted, believe firmly in defending their rights and in self-defense. Better to be deprived of life than the means of living. If words fail to provide us with protection, then deeds are badly needed to restore rights to those whose rights have been usurped."

Iraq was now assailed for belligerent and menacing declarations. Saddam prepared a statement in which he pointed out that great harm was being willfully and deliberately inflicted on Iraq's national economy. Almost pleadingly, he sought the motives for this sustained provocation:

"It is a treacherous stab in the back of Iraq, a country which emerged from a long, costly war and which incurred heavy debts which it had to repay in order to proceed with its development program. We have to feed a people which has suffered a great deal, which sacrificed the flower of its youth in defense of the Gulf region."

The Iraqis were incredulous that, having undertaken a war at the behest of U.S. imperialism, with the explicit mandate of insulating the feudal families of the Gulf from radical challenge, their own government should now be targeted. Saddam Hussein summoned the Saudi Oil Minister, Hisham an-Nazer, on July 9, declaring: "I revolt from the idea that Iraqis should go hungry and Iraqi women should go naked from destitution."

On July 15, Tariq Aziz delivered a detailed memorandum to the secretary-general of the Arab League in Tunis. The document set forth the chronology, facts and figures of a deliberate "conspiracy on the part of the rulers of Kuwait to destroy the Iraqi economy."

For the first time, the Iraqi government of Saddam Hussein delineated the process through which the border was inched northward and the Rumaila oil reserve pillaged. Taken together, it was, the memo stated:

"... an attack upon Iraq by the government of Kuwait which is, in reality, a double attack. It has involved encroachment upon our territory and our oil fields, theft of our oil wealth which, it now becomes apparent, is a deliberate attempt to cause a collapse of the Iraqi economy. The effects of this aggression are no less adverse than those of military aggression."

A final meeting was requested by Iraq, which occurred on July 30 in Jeddah, between Saddam Hussein and the crown prince of Kuwait. Kuwait would agree neither to production quotas nor to cease pumping oil from Iraq's Rumaila reserve. It would not forego any of Iraq's debt.

Tariq Aziz concluded on September 4:

all the while ensuring that their movement would be abandoned at the critical moment.

James Ridgeway, in *The Village Voice* (April 15, 1991), speaks of a "long legacy of American betrayal of the Kurds."

After the Soviet Union and Iraq normalized relations in 1972, for example, Henry Kissinger and Richard Nixon asked the shah of Iran to channel military aid to traditional Kurdish rulers.

The real intent would be revealed in the 1976 Pike Report of the House Select Committee of Intelligence:

"The president, Dr. Kissinger and a foreign head of state (the shah of Iran) hoped our clients among the Kurds *would not prevail* [emphasis added]. They preferred instead that the insurgents simply continue a level of hostilities sufficient to sap the resources of our ally's neighboring country, i.e., Iraq. This policy was not imparted to our clients, who were encouraged to continue fighting. Even in the context of covert action, ours was a *cynical* [emphasis in original] enterprise." (ibid.)

The next phase, engineered by U.S. rulers would cost tens of thousands of Kurdish lives. In response to criticism, Henry Kissinger responded: "Covert action should not be confused with missionary work." (ibid.)

In 1975, the shah of Iran and Saddam Hussein arranged in Algiers to divide the narrow waterway constituting their common boundary — Shatt al-Arab. Each agreed to betray their respective Kurdish populations, to whom each had been providing limited clandestine arms. The Kurds were used by Saddam Hussein against the shah and by the shah against Saddam Hussein — each, with U.S. backing, deploying the Kurdish struggle as a bargaining chip.

The Kurds were kept in the dark. The shah sealed his borders and cut off all supplies. Saddam Hussein launched a full-scale attack on the Kurds, with tacit U.S. support. Thousands of Kurds fled toward Iran and the Zagros mountains at the border. There they were trapped.

The communiqué of the CIA station chief to director William Colby on March 1975 is instructive:

"Is headquarters in touch with Kissinger's office on this? If the U.S. government does not handle this situation deftly in a way which will avoid giving the Kurds the impression that we are abandoning them, they are likely to go public. Iran's actions has not only shattered their political hopes; it endangers thousands of lives." Kissinger and President Gerald Ford abandoned the Kurds to their fate.

The Consequences for the Kurds

Time magazine ("Who are the Kurds," April 15, 1991) described the consequences for the Kurds at the hands of the Saddam Hussein

has ceased to exist in Iraq.

The summer harvest is considered lost. The international sanctions, even before the bombardment, had cut off Iraq from pesticides, fertilizers, feed, and animal vaccines. Thus livestock have been subject to epidemic disease and are dying.

Martti Ahtisaari writes like a man in shock:

"These conditions, together with recent civil unrest, mean that the authorities are as yet scarcely able even to measure the dimensions of the calamity, much less respond to its consequences, because they cannot obtain full and accurate data."

Impromptu efforts have been attempted by private international relief agencies, such as Doctors Without Borders, which found widespread "infant diarrhea, cholera, and generalized infection." (*Village Voice*, April 15, 1991)

The absence of fuel impedes delivery of food or medical supplies. Doctors Without Borders has attempted to organize its own logistics, sending in sixty tons of fuel, medicine, surgical equipment, and vehicles in which to transport these supplies.

The "massive destruction" reported by these agencies in such cities as Basra has made the distribution of the supplies brought in virtually impossible. The U.S.-imposed terms of "cease-fire," which maintain full sanctions and require any future oil income in Iraq to be earmarked as reparations to Kuwait's rulers, with their \$2.8 trillion in U.S. and European banks, is a death-sentence for a generation of Iraqis.

The Christian Aid Society of Great Britain calculated that at least 70,000 Iraqi children were killed in the air bombardment. Half of Iraq's population is under fifteen. The disease and starvation so prevalent in Iraq will claim, according to all accounts, hundreds of thousands of additional lives in the ensuing months.

Long Legacy of Betrayal

The vast tragedy of the Kurdish people unfolding before the world is part of a carefully orchestrated design aimed at destroying the civilian population — notably, the working-class population of Iraqi cities. There can be little doubt that U.S. rulers targeted the civilian population and the economic infrastructure of Iraq for demolition, the better to impede a popular movement in the cities capable of responding in support of the revolt of the Kurds in the north and the Shi'a of the south.

The Kurdish national movement — whether in Iran, Iraq, Turkey or Syria — has been joined to popular struggles against neocolonial and dictatorial regimes. As such, whenever the United States wished to apply pressure to one of its client governments, it deployed the Kurds,

"It was inconceivable that a regime, such as that in Kuwait, could risk engaging in a conspiracy of such magnitude against a large, strong country such as Iraq, if it were not being supported and protected by a great power; and that power was the United States of America."

Deliberate Entrapment

The ruthlessness and practiced duplicity of British imperialism, in the course of forging the Empire, earned its rulers the sobriquet "Perfidious Albion." [the term used for British colonial duplicity] Events in the Persian Gulf prove U.S. rulers to be their worthy successor.

On September 18, the Foreign Ministry of Iraq published verbatim the transcripts of meetings held between high ranking U.S. officials and Saddam Hussein just days before Iraqi troops entered Kuwait on August 2.

James McCartney, columnist for Knight-Ridder Newspapers' Washington Bureau, acknowledges that these transcripts are "not disputed by the State Department." On July 25, U.S. Ambassador April Glaspie, in her official capacity, informed Saddam Hussein: "We have no opinion on ... conflicts like your border disagreement with Kuwait."

Glaspie repeated this several times. To make sure the point was taken, she added, "Secretary of State James Baker has directed our official spokesman to emphasize this instruction."

Indeed, Baker's official spokesperson, Margaret Tutwiler, and Asst. Secretary of State John Kelly, "both did exactly that. A week before the invasion both repeated publicly that the United States was not obligated to come to Kuwait's aid if it were attacked." (*Santa Barbara News-Press*, September 24, 1990)

McCartney is incredulous in reviewing the heavy-handedness with which the message was conveyed to Saddam Hussein. "At one point in the conversation, Glaspie said: 'I have direct instruction from the President ...'"

Two days before Iraqi troops entered Kuwait, Asst. Secretary of State John Kelly appeared before the House Foreign Affairs Subcommittee, where Rep. Lee Hamilton, D-Ind., asked him "if the United States was committed to come to Kuwait's defense."

Later, Hamilton recalled Kelly before the Sub-Committee to remind him of their colloquy:

"I asked you if there was a U.S. commitment to come to Kuwait's defense if it was attacked. Your response over and over again was: 'We have no defense treaty relationship with any Gulf country.'"

McCartney, like Hamilton, concludes that the United States had, with deliberation, given Saddam Hussein "a green light for invasion."

George Bush ... left the door opened and Saddam Hussein walked through. And much blood may be shed as a result."

A similar conclusion was reached by the *New York Daily News*, but with a most revealing twist. In its lead editorial on September 29, "Assessing Iraq: The Blame Can Wait," the editorial states:

"State Department officials ... led Saddam Hussein to think he could get away with grabbing Kuwait." Reciting the uncontested facts, the editorial continues: "Small wonder Saddam concluded he could overrun Kuwait. Bush and Co. gave him no reason to think otherwise."

The newspaper concludes, coldbloodedly, that, embarrassing though this revelation may be, the crisis was going to get "higher and tougher" and "when the smoke clears in Baghdad, there will be plenty of time to examine Bush's Iraq policy, preferably with tweezers and a microscope."

That's for after the war. For now, "George Bush deserves plenty of credit for his impeccable handling of the Persian Gulf crisis. He may also deserve credit for allowing the crisis to happen in the first place."

In this vein, Gen. H. Norman Schwarzkopf, head of the U.S. Central Command and now commander of all U.S. forces in Operation Desert Shield, was reported to have anticipated Iraq's occupation of Kuwait with uncanny precision:

"Only two weeks before the invasion, officials said, Schwarzkopf convened his top commanders for an exercise that simulated 'exactly the contingency' of an Iraqi attack on Kuwait."

"The similarities were eerie," one source said. He added that "when the real invasion came, the only way they could tell real intelligence from the practice intelligence was the little 'v' in the corner of the paper — 'v' for training." (*Los Angeles Times*, November 24, 1990)

Professor Michael Clare makes reference to a National Security Council White Paper, prepared in May 1990, in which "Iraq and Saddam Hussein were set forth as 'the optimum contenders to replace the Warsaw Pact' as the rationale for major military expenditure." (quoted by Christie Institute Director Daniel Sheehan at the September 14, 1990 Berkeley Teach-in)

It is evident that Saddam Hussein was deliberately squeezed, with the intent that he should resolve the crisis facing him by reclaiming Kuwait. It is ironic that, alone among Iraqi rulers, from the Ottoman Empire to the present day, he had acquiesced in the colonial severance of Kuwait from Iraq — and even served, in the war with Iran, as the guarantor of the emir's rule.

From King Faisal I, King Ghazi and Nuri es-Said to Abdul Karim Qassim, each ruler of Iraq has reflected, however reluctantly, Iraqi national indignation at the deliberate amputation of Kuwait. Only the

Blood on Their Hands:

The Continuing U.S. War in the Middle East

Undersecretary-General of the United Nations Martti Ahtisaari prepared a report on March 20, 1991, on the effect upon Iraq of the most massive air bombardment in history. In a period of four weeks, the United States and its junior partners had used more explosive tonnage on Iraq, a relatively small nation of 17 million people, than in the entire seven years of World War II in Europe, North Africa, and Asia.

In language which conveys a dread and horror rare in bureaucratic reports, Ahtisaari cries out:

"Nothing that we had seen or read had quite prepared us for the particular form of devastation which has now befallen the country. The recent conflict has wrought near-apocalyptic results upon the economic infrastructure of what had been until January 1991, a rather highly urbanized and mechanized society."

"Now, most means of modern life support have been destroyed or rendered tenuous. Iraq has, for some time to come been relegated to a pre-industrial age, but with all the disabilities of post-industrial dependency on an intensive use of energy and technology." (U.N. Report S/22366)

The United Nations report describes the results of indiscriminate incineration through fuel air bombs and weapons which obliterated all means of sustenance for the civilian population of Iraq's major cities. Reservoirs and water pipes have disappeared in Iraq. Virtually all hygienic facilities have been decimated. Electric power has ceased and Iraq has no means to restore it, perhaps for years. Neither water nor sewage can be conveyed, as no pipelines remain, nor is there power to pump liquids.

Civilian communications have been destroyed. Transportation for the population has been obliterated, as have roads, bridges, and tunnels. Iraq, dependent upon imported food, lacks the oil revenue with which to buy it. All refineries have been reduced to rubble. As the grain and food sheds and warehouses had been targeted and destroyed, there simply are no more foodstuffs to distribute.

The same is true of medicines, pharmaceutical products, bandages, antibiotics, general hospital supplies, surgical equipment, equipment for blood typing, blood supplies, anesthesia and means of sterilization. Medical treatment, as such, for the population has come to an end.

The banking system is destroyed. No one has currency with which to buy whatever goods still exist. The irrigation systems in the countryside are obliterated. Organized agriculture, which depends upon them,

"American planes dropping bombs on African villages that have no defense against bombs and blowing Black women to bits. They're doing the same thing as when they dropped it on the Japanese at Hiroshima.

"They take the press with their ability to control you with image making, and they make mass murder, cold-blooded murder look like a humanitarian project. All these thousands of people dying and you have no compassion in your hearts because the victim has been made to look like he's the criminal and the criminal has been made to look like he's the victim. Why, you and I should go on a rampage. I mean on a rampage — intelligently!"

The fate of the Iraqi people will not be resolved in Iraq alone. The Arab people number 225 million in twenty-two states covering some 4 million square miles. The budget of the Bush administration reflects the dependence on war and arms production of this economy, like an addict needs his fix — and in ever-increasing doses.

The cutbacks in social services, social security, school lunch programs, day-care centers, educational facilities and in all the entitlement programs, from low-cost housing to job training — features of the war-budget of the U.S. rulers — show the relationships about which Malcolm spoke in 1964. War and exploitation are like the lips to the teeth and they join their victims — those who suffer under the bombs and those who suffer from the vast depletion of resources squandered in their cruel production.

The movement which emerged to stop the war in the Gulf can be transformed into a fightback to end exploitation, resist occupation and to transform a social order which requires both. This is a task for oppressed of every country, an international task which requires common organization and common strategy. The moment of trial is always; now is the appointed time.

post-Qassim regimes, in all of which Saddam Hussein had a part, conceded Kuwait's severance and Iraq's indispensable access to the Gulf.

Seizing the Oil Fields

What then is the rationale for the deliberate entrapment of Saddam Hussein by U.S. decision makers? *New Republic* editor Fred Barnes, asked Democratic Chairperson of the House Armed Services Committee, Les Aspin, for an explanation:

"... I wonder exactly what the principle is that President Bush said the U.S. is fighting for in that region. ..."

Aspin's reply was typical of many in recent weeks:

"Our position should be the protection of the oil fields. The bottom line of this whole thing is that we do not want Saddam Hussein, who now controls, with Kuwait, twenty percent of the world's oil reserves, to be able to extend that to Saudi Arabia and then make it fifty percent. ... That is the major thing. Now, whether Kuwait gets put back, the emir gets put back or what happens, that's all subsidiary stuff."

Republican Henry Hyde, senior member of the House Intelligence Committee, is asked a similar question by Robert Novak:

"Mr. Hyde, Heaven forbid that any of your constituent sons come back in a body bag. ... Do you explain to their mothers that we were fighting to protect the Sabah dynasty in Kuwait or \$20 a barrel oil or even what Mr. Aspin says, to protect the oil fields? Is that good enough?"

Henry Hyde's reply is similar:

"Well, I think we're protecting the oil fields of the Middle East. It's not simply Kuwait's oil production that's at stake. ... If a dictator, with the delusions of grandeur that Saddam Hussein evidently has, is going to control the Persian Gulf and half of the world's proven reserves of petroleum, he will dictate our economy, our standard of living and that of the rest of the world. That's an intolerable situation. So, I think we're not just over there protecting a royal family or some oil fields, we're protecting our national interests and the national interests of the West."

Robert Novak raises a further problem:

"Mr. Aspin, this is an expensive business. I see these planes and ships and men going over there and you, as Armed Services chairman, were whacking away at the defense budget just this past week. Are you going to back down and restore money now?"

Aspin's answer is instructive:

"No. Essentially, that part focussed mainly upon the threat of the Soviet Union's attack in Europe."

Hyde adds:

"I'm a supporter of the B-2 and Admiral Crowe said that the B-2 would be very useful in the Kuwait situation. I think that we have to stay on top of that technology. I also support SDI (Strategic Defense Initiative). Some fifteen countries will be members of the nuclear club before long. It dictates that we pursue a weapons system that will defend us against the stray shot. ... We can prepare for the wars in the Third World that will be cropping up, as against a Soviet invasion in Europe, but I wouldn't say that's impossible either, looking down the line."

Aspin, the liberal Democrat, agrees:

"Yes, the last point is the main one. ... We are more likely, in the future, to be involved in Iraq type things, Panama type things, Grenada kind of things, than we are in a war with the Soviet Union in Europe."

The rationale is a replay of Henry Kissinger's siren song of 1973, when he argued for direct seizure of the oil fields of Saudi Arabia and the Gulf because if the oil producers charged \$10 a barrel they would "strangle" the U.S. economy.

Is this true at any level and has it ever been true? An article in the *New York Times* entitled "The Myth of Iraq's Oil Stranglehold" (September 17, 1990) provides a telling answer. The author is Doug Bandow, senior fellow at the Cato Institute and former special assistant to President Reagan.

"One of the major justifications for America's intervention in the Persian Gulf," Bando writes, "is oil, both its price and its strategic value. Iraq, Kuwait and Saudi Arabia possess collectively half the world's proven petroleum reserves, the argument goes. How could we allow Saddam Hussein to control half the world's oil resources?"

Bandow proceeds to demolish this long-standing shibboleth, deployed *ad nauseum* in Western established media to provide cover for U. S. military operations in the region.

Bandow demonstrates that the reserve figure vastly overstates the importance of Middle Eastern oil to Western economies. The Soviet Union, not Saudi Arabia, is the largest producer of oil. (Bandow does not mention that over sixty percent of working oil wells are capped in the United States in order to permit the oil corporations to maintain high prices and huge profits.)

He does, however, demolish the claim that Iraq could "gain a stranglehold on the world's oil supplies." Even before the "current crisis," Iraq, Kuwait and Saudi Arabia combined, accounted for fifteen percent of global production.

Production, however, has no relation to either resources or reserves. How much is produced is strictly a political and economic decision reflecting the price levels desired by the producers. If production were related to need, the available fossil fuels are so plentiful that oil could

Iraqi occupation and now evince a like determination to resist attempts to restore the old order, as one of their leaders, Hineidi, made clear to a *Los Angeles Times* reporter (March 3, 1991).

Describing the fate of the Congo at the hands of the CIA, the U. S. and the U.N. in 1964, Malcolm X told an audience at the Audubon Ballroom on December 13, 1964, that the struggle was nothing, if it wasn't international:

"When I speak of some action for the Congo, that action also includes Congo, Mississippi. The point I would like to impress upon every Afro-American leader is that there is no kind of action in this country ever going to bear fruit unless that action is tied in with the over-all international struggle. You waste your time when you talk to this Man, just you and him. So when you talk to him, let him know your brother is behind you and you've got some brothers behind that brother. That's the only way to talk to him, that's the only language he knows."

"The purpose of our meeting tonight was to show the relationship between the struggle going on on the African continent and the struggle that's going on among the Afro-Americans here in this country. We have to realize what part our struggle has in the over-all world struggle. ... We need allies. When we realize how large this earth is and how many many different people there are on it, and how closely they resemble us, when we turn to them for help, or aid or to form alliances, then we'll make a little faster progress."

Malcolm sounded the alarm about the deception on which the rulers and their policies depended, on the need to see through it, to learn how it operates and to acquire the necessary knowledge to counter it.

"You and I live in a very deceitful and tricky society, in a very deceitful and tricky country, which has a very deceitful and tricky government. You have to be on guard at all times. You have to know how they work this deceit and how they work these tricks."

In particular, Malcolm called out to see the established press for what it is, to understand who owns and controls it and whose interests it serves:

"The FBI can feed information to the press — they do it very skillfully, they maneuver the press on a national scale. The CIA maneuvers the press on an international scale. They master this imagery, this image-making. They give you the image of an extremist. When you explode legitimately against the injustices that have been heaped upon you, they use the press to make it look like you're a vandal. ...

"You let the Man maneuver you into thinking that it's wrong to fight him when he's fighting you. He's fighting you in the morning, fighting you at noon, fighting you at night and fighting you all in between, and you still think it's wrong to fight him back. Why? the press."

"The rapidity of the total Iraqi defeat was surprising, but the ultimate military outcome was never in doubt. Diplomatic efforts by Arabs, Russians and others to avoid war, we now know, never had any chance of success. President Bush had decided that war was necessary to eliminate Iraq's military capability and its civilian support structure. ... What did we have to lose by destroying Iraq?"

"Even before the war, Arabs wondered if Mr. Bush and his generals were serious in their threats to turn Baghdad into a parking lot. Now they are sure he was serious and they compare him with Hulagu Khan, commander of the Mongol Horde that destroyed Baghdad in 1248.

"Iraq did not recover until this century, yet it became the center of the Arab renaissance. It has some of the best painters, sculptors, poets and writers in the Arab world. Its destruction will not be accepted easily, even by the enemies of Saddam."

Akins considers the trajectory of U.S. policy and the disposition of George Bush and his associates. "At the start of the crisis, he [Bush] said he was not interested in self-determination. 'It's not a question of democracy,' he said of Kuwait, 'it's a question of legitimacy' — a view more appropriate to the restoration-minded Congress of Vienna."

What then are the prospects for U.S. policy in the Arab world? Akins is coolly analytical:

"He [Bush] will be told that proposals for democracy in Iraq and (worse) Kuwait would offend the rulers of Kuwait, Saudi Arabia and Syria, that rights for the Kurds would be anathema to Iran and to Turkey. He will be told by the 'realists' that popular Arab sentiment is irrelevant."

Akins, however, is not sanguine about the future for U.S. rule in the region. "It will be hard for him to ignore anti-American demonstrations in Cairo and Rabat. They will be more frequent and violent as reports of the destruction of Iraqi cities and of Iraqi babies dying of dysentery are carried on world television and radio; the governments of Egypt, Syria and Morocco could be overthrown. ...

"There will be great domestic pressure to withdraw to our hemisphere. And we probably will. After our departure, the friendly Arabs will probably last longer than did our friends in Vietnam — but not much."

Struggle is International

The war crimes of Bush and Co. will not, however, be forgotten by their victims. The people of Iraq face starvation and penury, the loss of generations of labor in painstakingly constructing a viable economy in the face of privation and great exploitation. Nor in Kuwait, will the trillion-dollar feudal masters escape easily the consequence of the distribution of arms among the Kuwaiti population, some of whom resisted

be produced for pennies per barrel, not dollars.

Bandow observes that even if Saddam Hussein conquered the entire Persian Gulf and held all its oil off the market, the increase in price would be most temporary. "This would defeat the purpose of his conquests. For if he stopped his production, the beneficiaries would be all the other oil producers."

The other major myth, observes Bandow, has to do with cost to the oil importing nations. Saddam Hussein doesn't wish to drink his oil or swim in it. He wishes to get a market price which will enable him to replenish hard currency reserves after the staggering loss of \$120 billion in the course of the Iran-Iraq war, foisted upon him by his erstwhile allies in Washington, Kuwait and Saudi Arabia.

"As the (supposed) top producer in the world, he would maximize his revenues by marginally reducing his production and trying to persuade other suppliers to follow suit. The result would be a higher oil bill for the U.S., but nothing like the cost of today's military operation."

This, of course, is precisely what Saddam Hussein sought to do within OPEC. Indeed, it is what OPEC itself was formed to achieve, i.e. to control production in order to maintain price structures which would earn hard currency for the producers.

In a world of production for human need, the anarchy of capitalist production for profit would be replaced, allowing the vast ocean of petroleum to supply the planet's needs. But that is what such anachronistic regimes as the Emirates and sheikhdoms of the Gulf and of Arabia are designed to forestall.

The actions of Kuwait and the Emirates, in subverting OPEC production quotas (to their own considerable economic detriment), were a directed political act — as Saddam Hussein sought to explain to his OPEC colleagues with such futility.

It was a deliberate design orchestrated in Washington to destabilize his economy and his regime. Kuwait and the Emirates were the instrument, even as Kuwait's severance from Mesopotamia in the first place had served a like purpose for the British empire.

What, asks Bandow, of the claim that "Iraqi hegemony in the Persian Gulf would leave President Hussein in control of half the world's 'reserves'?"

This number is completely false. Proven reserves of crude oil in 1985 were 700 billion barrels. By 1990, proven reserves had expanded to one trillion barrels — and this after further production of 100 billion barrels.

New discoveries increased reserves by 400 billion barrels and this has only scratched the surface of planetary supply.

The entire campaign of the past three to four decades bemoaning a presumptive finite supply of fossil fuels, rapidly being depleted by industrial growth, is a myth designed to provide a rationale for exorbitant profits and price gouging by the oil conglomerates. The irony is that environmentalists have both accepted and orchestrated the fiction, the better to argue for alternative energy supplies.

But, like neo-Malthusian arguments about population growth as an explanation for poverty, such rationalizations serve to conceal the class character of economic decisions and the gargantuan exploitation that results. Pauperization, mass misery and huge indebtedness on the part of dependent countries are the consequence and the intended result.

As Bando points out, the outer continental shelf of the United States alone contains 32 billion barrels of oil, more than all current U.S. proven reserves. This, moreover, is currently held out of production. Only six percent of proven reserves are tapped.

"Proven reserves" is itself a misnomer. All this means is that they are accessible but deliberately untapped. Some 300 billion barrels of unrecovered oil lie in beds of shale under the United States alone. This is ten times our proven reserves and considerably more than all of Saudi Arabia's proven reserves — the much vaunted Saudi supply, which provides the basis for the fabrications about Saudi and Middle Eastern hegemony over energy sources for the industrial world.

Bando demonstrates that current estimates of potential recoverable oil are as high as 6 trillion barrels. Even these estimates are based on current prices. Additional exploration and enhanced recovery technology could raise this 6 trillion barrels by many multiples.

The oil obsession is a classic contrivance of a rapacious capitalist order. Oil is an engine of colossal profit — "black gold," the twentieth century correlative of gold itself, for which the colonial conquerors of the Americas slaughtered the indigenous population in their tens of millions and then enslaved many millions more, kidnapped from the continent of Africa.

Bando concludes:

"Even if Saddam Hussein conquered the Gulf and hung onto his 'empire' into the next century, he would never have the sort of control over oil that the widely cited fifty percent figure implies. ... The case for confronting him is not the threat to our oil supply."

The Structure of Rule

What then is the structure of rule in Saudi Arabia and the Gulf? In an article by Eric Pace, "House of Saud: From Mud Fort to Oil Billions" (*New York Times*, August 11, 1990), we learn about the real nature of Saudi rule (it should be noted that "Saudi" Arabia means literally the Arabia of the family of Saud.):

Times (March 3, 1991):

"Mr. Gorbachev didn't send any troops, but he helped by pulling all but a handful of the thousands of Soviet military and civilian advisers out of Iraq before the allied bombing started in January. And whatever the Soviet military knew about allied battlefield preparations from satellite intelligence ... they didn't tell their former Iraqi protégés. Once Iraq's air force collapsed, General Schwarzkopf said last week, 'we look out his ability to see what we were doing.'"

Garrick Utley saw very well. In his conclusion to his "Meet The Press" interview with Baker, Utley faced the camera and said:

"Finally, now that the war is over, do we fully understand the magnitude of what has been achieved? I'm not talking about the defeat of a dictator and his army, but the fact that today in the Gulf, on the Arabian peninsula, half-a-million American troops are sitting on one-half of the worlds' oil reserves. Think about that for just a moment.

"If George Bush were a Roman emperor 2000 years ago would he even think of bringing his legions home? No way! That's not what empires were for. They were for taking gold and other riches. Well, today the most valued commodity is oil. Our [sic] prosperity depends upon it and the United States is sitting on the mother lode. Talk about a 'New World Order!'

"It is clear today that the United States will remain the ultimate guarantor of peace in the Gulf region. Our planes will stay within striking distance of any aggressor along with our ships. Above all, the rulers of Kuwait and Saudi Arabia know who their protector is now — indeed, know now that they are, in fact, American protectorates.

"This war was fought for many reasons, but one of the results is that it has guaranteed for years to come a secure supply of oil at free-market prices. That's not something George Bush will boast about. He has been discreet and smart. But if the president were a Roman emperor, he would be hailed today as a new Caesar!"

Sitting Atop Powder Kegs

Some, however, among ruling class representatives, have a more sober assessment. James E. Akins was a career foreign service officer who served in Kuwait, Iraq and, as ambassador to Saudi Arabia from 1973 to 1975.

Akins' article (*New York Times*, March 3, 1991) is entitled "Hooray?" and he examines with cool detachment what is at stake for the United States. His analysis shows that the U.S. rulers are well aware that they have set their foot on a path of continued occupation, repression and continuing wars of subjugation, with an outcome by no means assured, let alone victories of the kind just experienced guaranteed:

laundering operation for "drug lords in Colombia," of which Manuel Noriega was a significant client. Clark Clifford, adviser to presidents — notably Democrats John Kennedy, Lyndon Johnson and Jimmy Carter — is, with Carter's former budget director, Bert Lance, the legal and political counselor for the operation.

Behind the scenes was the ruling family of Abu Dhabi in the person of Sheikh Zayed bin Sultan al Nahayan. Gulf money, that of the military rulers in Pakistan, leading figures of U.S. finance capital and senior advisers to Democratic Party presidents and presidential candidates front for the drug lords and provide the banking instruments for laundering the multi-billions.

The scandal reveals, as well, the relationship between the crisis in the U.S. banking industry and the investments by the corrupt oligarchies of Third World client regimes. Associated Press carried a story of a meeting behind closed doors between "CIA Director William Webster and the chairman of the House Subcommittee of the House Banking Committee about a *Houston Post* article linking loans from failed thrifts to people with ties to organized crime or the CIA."

What emerges is that "the CIA may have used proceeds from the S&L fraud for covert operations," including those in the Middle East. These undertakings coincide with the meeting between William Webster and the emir of Kuwait in Washington at the conclusion of the Iran-Iraq war, when Webster urged the emir to "undermine" the Iraqi economy with a view to bringing down the regime of Saddam Hussein.

Gorbachev Gives Helping Hand

The central role of the Soviet bureaucratic leadership as a partner, albeit a junior one, in the plans of U.S. rulers to wage war against subject populations unopposed was acknowledged convincingly by U.S. spokespersons.

During an interview with Garrick Utley of NBC's "Meet The Press" (March 1, 1991), Secretary of State James Baker was asked, "Will Gorbachev and the Soviets be a major player in the Middle East now?"

Baker's reply was instructive. "All you need to do is look at what has happened since the 2nd of August with respect to the Gulf crisis. They can continue to play an extraordinary political role. I do not think that we would have been able to do what we did in the manner we did it and in the time frame we did it, had we not had the Soviet Union standing shoulder to shoulder with us throughout.

"It would be a mistake to say that the Soviets should play no role in the establishment of the future security arrangements. They should. They have a continuing degree of influence with many of the key players of the region."

The same theme was sounded by Craig R. Whitney in the *New York*

"Once again, soldiers and weapons are asir on the enormous landscape of Saudi Arabia at the behest of a single family, the House of Saud."

The family is "as secretive as its is numerous and dominated by men."

Five thousand family males rule and key decisions are made by only a few. Crown Prince Abdullah, half-brother of King Fahd, is head of the National Guard. Prince Sultan, full brother of King Fahd, is minister of defense. Two full brothers, Prince Nayef and Prince Salman, are minister of the interior and governor of Riyadh, respectively.

Professor Lenczowski of the University of California at Berkeley explained: "You can not distinguish between the House of Saud and the Saudi state; they are interwoven."

William Quandt of the Brookings Institution put it this way: "Saudi Arabia is a family-run business." As the *New York Times* averred, business is good. The assets of the Saudi government outside Saudi Arabia, exclusive of all those within the country, exceed \$100 billion.

"In general, the boundary between the Saudi state treasury and Saudi personal coffers is rather permeable," according to Brookings Institution Middle East authority, Yahya Sadowski. He added: "Land grants given by the royal family for land held officially by the state have been re-appropriated for the personal profit of members of the regime."

Similar structures characterize the United Arab Emirates. The ruler of Dubai, Sheikh Rashid bin Said al-Maktoum, is vice-president and prime minister of the United Arab Emirates. His eldest son and heir, Crown Prince Sheikh Maktoum bin Rashid al Maktoum is one of the two deputy prime ministers. The *Manchester Guardian Weekly* (October 14, 1990) explains: "The disposition of Sheikh Rashid's sons demonstrates how power in the smaller Gulf states is concentrated in the hands of the royal families."

His second son has been United Arab Emirate minister of finance and industry since 1973 as well as chairman of the Emirates Currency Board and governor of the Islamic Development Bank in Jeddah.

The Sheikh's third son is the U.A.E.'s minister of defense and the head of police and public security in Dubai. The fourth son is former minister of defense and commander in chief for the Dubai defense force.

As for Kuwait, over \$300 billion are invested outside the country, \$100 billion in the United States and Great Britain alone. When the *New York Times* described Kuwait as "a family-owned oil company with a seat in the United Nations," it is instructive to note that the family in question is smaller and more concentrated than those either of Saudi Arabia or the Emirates.

The \$300 billion invested abroad represent a fraction of the real assets because these funds command controlling shares of vast conglomerates, banks and holding companies. Less than five percent of shares will permit effective ownership. Funds of this magnitude are leveraged and provide, thereby, control over assets ten and sometimes a hundred fold the liquid investment.

Reuters reported (August 8, 1990): "Financial and government analysts say it is impossible to put a precise value on Kuwait's holdings outside its borders. The holdings range from entire firms to blue-chip stocks and bonds, secret Swiss bank accounts, real estate, gasoline stations and refineries."

Kuwaiti owned securities constitute "large stakes in many of the world's largest companies ... two foreign refineries, numerous Middle East businesses and 4500 gasoline stations in Europe." Kuwait's family holdings include "dozens of firms in the U.S., most of them blue-chip. They also own substantial oil assets and real estate."

Closer inspection reveals that the entire U.S. banking system is involved. Major U.S. companies, including Chase Manhattan, Citibank, and Morgan Stanley and Co. manage "billions of dollars on Kuwait's behalf in U.S. financial markets."

The Saudi's have invested over \$114 billion in U.S. Treasury issues, thereby subsidizing the U.S. deficit. Yousef Ibrahim summed up in "Arab Investment Overseas: A Vast Empire" (*New York Times* April 30, 1990) the measure of the relationship between these tiny feudal elites, who command, effectively, trillions of dollars, through actual cash assets and command over financial institutions, and the impoverished Arab masses. "Arab money flows out, as economies remain poor and national debts rise."

The huge sums generated by oil flow back into the corporate, financial and state institutions of the imperial nations. Investcorp Bank, E.C. is run by Nemir A. Kirdar, an Iraqi officer of Chase Manhattan. He manages hundreds of investment portfolios for the feudal elite. Investcorp Bank purchased the Saks Fifth Avenue retail chain for \$1.5 billion. Since 1982, their widely publicized deals involved over \$3.5 billion, with corporate names such as Tiffany and Cartier in the United States, Gucci in Italy and Chanel, the French jewelry combine.

This, however, is but the glitz. As Ibrahim observes, dryly: "Investcorp's spending spree represents a *tiny fraction* of the vast pool of Arab overseas investments, which total an estimated \$680 billion."

Kuwait earns even more from its overseas investments than it does from oil exports. The enormous holdings of the "government investment authorities of oil-rich monarchies like Saudi Arabia and Kuwait" are, as Ibrahim observes, crucial to the U.S. banking system.

The royal and feudal families have set up private investment struc-

tures. Ford and Chrysler have already bagged contracts. The rest of the Fortune 500 are no doubt in line." Professor Friedman of Harvard is cited as estimating that now "military spending will crowd out both public and private investment. And President Bush's request last week for money to replace more missiles than he lost in the gulf is hardly reassuring."

These relationships are not new. The wealth of the Saudi rulers, of the rulers of the Gulf Emirates and of Kuwait were critical to Washington. In 1988, U.S. corporations already held \$3.47 trillion (\$2047 billion) worth of direct investments in Saudi Arabia. The Saudis were the largest purchasers of U.S. military equipment abroad. Bendix, Lockheed and Boeing all had major military contracts with the Saudi rulers.

The two largest construction companies, Bechtel and Fluor, have had major undertakings in Saudi Arabia for decades. These are also the firms reaping the major benefit of the Gulf war. They were, as well, substantial backers of the Reagan election campaign of 1980 and are bound up with Bush.

William Powell in his book, *Saudi Arabia and its Royal Family*, (1982) explains how Bechtel Vice-President George Shultz became Nixon's secretary of treasury and Reagan's campaign manager and secretary of state. The Saudis, in turn hold a major share of Texaco and of the oil corporations in which Secretary of State James Baker and George Shultz made their respective fortunes.

The Kuwaitis, for their part, own openly nine percent of British Petroleum, but through the banks, finance much of the capital expenditure of major industry in the United States. It is not accidental, therefore, that fifty-two of the world's top corporations and four of the top ten in the United States are oil corporations.

Thus, the stakes for finance capital in securing in power the regimes beholden to them, make it abundantly clear why the U.S. government has prepared for decades to seize Arab oil, to have its military in direct occupation and/or poised to put down any challenge to the control of U.S. client regimes.

Laundering Money for Drug Lords

Every financial institution in capitalist America is involved. *Time* (March 4, 1991) describes how "the biggest bank in Washington and a legendary American political adviser are ensnared in a probe involving a shadowy money-laundering enterprise." First American Bank of Washington had \$11 billion assets, a sum, however, which pales in comparison with the trillion dollar holdings of the Kuwaiti emir.

It is not surprising, therefore, to learn that largest bank in the U.S. capital was a front for Bank of Credit and Commerce International, a

strengthen the case for high technology weapons systems.

Northrop's B-2 Stealth bomber is likely to gain significant political support from the successful record established by Lockheed's Stealth fighter, which has already gone out of production. The Pentagon's Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI) is getting new life from the Patriot's demonstration that ballistic missiles can be shot down."

Thus, the devastation of Iraq and Kuwait prepares for huge profits for the defense and oil corporations, even as control over price structures for crude oil has now passed decisively from OPEC to the oil corporations.

Blood-Money Spoils

Peter Passell, *New York Times* business analyst, had a similar assessment in his article "The Big Spoils From A Bargain War" (March 3, 1991). Passell argues that cheap oil for years to come and a quicker end to the recession are the fruits of the slaughter in Iraq. The Pentagon, he avers, might even show a profit. The Pentagon placed its war costs at \$39 billion and is planning to collect \$52 billion from "the allies."

In fact, however, according to Charles Schulze of the Brookings Institution, "The war has been fought on the cheap ... and largely at the expense of Washington's allies. 'The costs to America aren't zero, but they aren't large.'" Schulze notes, moreover, "that the Pentagon has lumped unrelated costs as a subterfuge for raising total military expenditure, a worry that seems credible since the administration is asking Congress to replace more Patriots, Tomahawks and TOW's than it fired at Iraqi targets." (Ibid.)

Experts see another motive for "fudging war costs." They don't want to give the U.S. rulers "allies" "an excuse to renege on the \$39 billion still owed." But Schulze points out that the actual cost of what he calls "mauling the Iraqi army" runs to less than \$30 billion. Uncle Sam will end up pocketing a nice piece of change."

As the allies scramble to cheat each other out of the blood-money spoils, the engine of profit which war and exploitation engender is expected to gather steam.

"As Kuwait goes on a buying spree to rebuild from the sand up, numbers as high as \$100 billion have been tossed around. ... Kuwait's demand for capital is not entirely bad news for the home team. The foreign companies who supply the goodies will be mostly American ... for everything from drill bits to fried chicken franchises. And now that the U.S. Marines have retaken Kuwait City, Kuwaiti officials are making no secret of their wish to look even harder." (Ibid.)

New York Times reporter Passell spells out who gains. "Caterpillar, Raytheon, Motorola, American Telephone and Telegraph, General

tures to rival their governmental ones, even as they operate state investments as extensions of the families themselves. The Olayan Group, for example, headed by Suliman S. Olayan of Saudi Arabia, has multi-billion dollar privately held organizations which have secured controlling portions of stock in Chase Manhattan, Occidental Petroleum and First Boston.

Hekmat Nashashibi, senior adviser to the Arab Banking Corporation and former chairperson of the Arab Bankers Association, estimated that primary ruling family investors from Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, the United Arab Emirates, Qatar and Bahrain hold, in their private capacity, a pool of \$150 billion:

"Yet these private investors are dwarfed by the huge Arab government investment agencies from Saudi Arabia, Kuwait and the United Arab Emirates, which have huge investments in the West." Ibrahim estimates the foreign holdings of the Kuwait Investment Authority alone at \$100 billion:

"Sometimes its investments have attracted public attention, like when it bought Santa Fe International in 1981 or ... a twenty-two percent stake in the British Petroleum Company two years ago." Saudi Arabia bought half of Texaco Inc.'s distribution and marketing system in the East and Gulf Coast regions of the United States.

Government fund managers of Saudi Arabia — the Saudi central bank, SAMA, the Kuwait Investment Authority, the Abu Dhabi Investment Authority and the governments of Qatar, Oman and Bahrain "hold in these vehicles alone an estimated \$200 billion in overseas investment."

These investments on the part of the royal cliques of the Middle East reveal that the feudal families are local instruments for foreign masters. As Youssef Ibrahim concludes: "For the most part, the government fund managers have put their money quietly in United States and Japanese government bonds."

In short, the feudal elites are the agents for transferring back the combined privately and "publicly" held trillions of dollars into the ruling institutions of the United States, Japan and Western Europe. Without these transfers, the stability of capitalism in the imperial countries themselves would be in serious jeopardy.

These investments are properly understood as flight capital. They are, in essence, no different from the generalized transfer of capital from the countries of the Middle East characteristic of a bourgeoisie without even the pretense of interest in investment at home:

"The pool of Arab money abroad is swelled by other flight capital from poorer, non-oil rich Arab nations. These savings go overseas ... because of fear of nationalization or political instability. The flight of capital badly needed at home clearly hinders the development of

economies of the poorer, debt-burdened countries."

A case study is Egypt, where people are now more impoverished than they were under King Farouk. Ali Negm, chairperson of Union de Banques Arabes et Francaises in Paris and Egypt's former Central Bank governor, calculates that private individuals in Egypt have accumulated \$60 billion "much of it held in foreign banks."

This is equivalent to Egypt's foreign debt. Measured against national domestic production, the feudal elite's foreign investments become even more glaring. Nashashabi, of the Arab Banking Corporation, pointed out that Japanese foreign investment is \$400 billion. This, however, is relatively small when compared to Japanese gross domestic production, which is in the trillions. But the flight capital from the Arab nations far exceeds their total gross domestic production.

There is a direct relationship between the growth of Arab flight capital and the debt of the Arab countries, which piles higher and higher. Henry Azzam, of Gulf International Bank in Bahrain, calculated the official debt of the Arab nations at \$140 billion in 1988.

While Arab governments borrow internationally, privileged residents acquire foreign assets at a rapid rate. "The pool of flight capital deprives their countries of domestic capital. It is enormous, this flight, by every estimate."

The extreme disparity between the unfathomable wealth of tiny feudal cliques and the deepening poverty of 200 million Arab masses has presented the imperial rulers of the United States with the task of preserving their control over oil trillions by military force.

Since 1964, every U.S. administration has prepared for direct seizure of Arab oil out of the conviction that the country-selling regimes could, not last, that mass pressure would inevitably transform social relations, thus jeopardizing the flow of capital.

OPEC itself was not to the liking of the U.S. rulers. Its members included states like Iran, Libya and Algeria whose rulers built strong national armies. Such armies could revolt and in the hands of others transform the region. Too much is at stake to rely upon such fragile formations as the sheikhs, emirs and kings of the Gulf.

Robert Tucker, reflecting increasing concern in U.S. business circles, addressed the technical feasibility of seizing Arab oil fields by direct military intervention ("Oil: the Issue of American Intervention," *Commentary*, January 1975):

"Without intervention, there is a distinct possibility of an economic and political disaster bearing more than a superficial resemblance to the disaster of the 1930s."

In addressing the question of whether military intervention was feasible, he answered that it was and depended on geography. It was

a period of up to a year."

The restrictions on speech which were defined in the 1976 press law are to be amplified: "These specifically ban 'criticism of the emir,' quoting from the emir without his permission; publishing information affecting the value of the national currency or creating misgivings about the Kuwaiti economy and criticizing other Arab leaders."

Bonanza for U.S. Firms

What will be liberated in Kuwait, therefore, will be windfall profits for U.S. corporations, not Kuwaiti citizens, let alone the majority of immigrant workers who lack even formal rights. The *Los Angeles Times* (February 27, 1991) headline makes clear what is at issue: "Kuwaiti Peace May Hold Big Payoff for U.S. Firms." The article spells out one of the motives for the wholesale destruction wreaked by the U.S. air assault.

"Expected to cost \$40 billion or more, the rebuilding effort stands, not surprisingly to benefit such firms as General Motors and Bechtel, behemoths in their respective industries."

But even these figures are provisional. Cost estimates continue to rise. "A \$20 billion effort several weeks ago now may cost \$40 billion to \$50 billion or more, Middle East experts are saying. Kuwait is smaller than Massachusetts but has nearly 100 billion barrels in oil reserves, making it one of the richest countries in the world. The staggering costs of its reconstruction have drawn comparisons to the Marshall Plan, the U.S.-sponsored rebuilding of Europe after World War II that cost about \$70 billion in today's dollars.

"It's very reminiscent of the Marshall Plan, with one very notable exception," said Irene Saba, vice-president of GulfAmerica, a U.S.-Arab trade promotion group. "The Kuwaitis are going to be paying for this."

But the "payment" will not put a dent in the trillion-dollar wealth of the royal family. The control over oil profits will swell this wealth and these super-profits will create, as well, "a bonanza for large U.S. engineering and construction companies, such as Bechtel and Fluor Corporation in Irvine, California"

As Dan Montano, the chairman of the board of VTN Corporation, put it: "There's enough business for any ten companies. The damage in Kuwait is enough to support both Fluor and Bechtel for the next ten years." Flour stock soared on the speculation, up \$9 to \$50 a share, a fifty-two week high and an eighteen percent increase in one month.

McDonnell Douglas and General Dynamics Corporation are expecting supplemental orders for 400 missiles at a cost of \$545 million. This is only the beginning, the tip of the iceberg. "The Gulf War ... will have profound effects on defense procurement policy and will

The planners are "working closely with Pentagon civil affairs specialists who do everything from helping restore civil order to providing public services."

Civil order aside, the \$2.8 trillion are not earmarked for social needs, even among the 750,000 "citizens" of Kuwait. "We'd like to reconstruct our attitude toward life," said Saif Abdullah, a professor of public administration working at Kuwait University, who is working with Hassan al-Ibrahim, former education minister. "In the past, education was considered a social right. In the future we have to talk more about responsibility, competition and merit."

The proposed character of "liberated" Kuwait, as prepared by the Pentagon and Kuwait's trillionaire rulers, became increasingly clear. Under the heading, "Pentagon Plans Big U.S. Role in Postwar Kuwait" the *San Francisco Chronicle* (February 26, 1991) reports:

"U.S. military forces will assume control over Kuwaiti affairs for up to three months after its liberation, according to an unclassified Pentagon document. ... U.S. forces will then assist the government of Kuwait in the country's rehabilitation for up to five years and perhaps even longer."

The 200-page Pentagon document provides for martial law measures which will be extended for up to one year at a time by the Kuwaiti government. Even after martial law is lifted, "planners assume that all political restrictions that existed before the war — including a 1976 press law banning criticism of the emir of Kuwait — will be restored."

The twenty-six appendices of the document cover every imaginable need, notably "restoring the flow of oil, the capture of subversives and the guarding of government documents."

Such social services as existed before are to be eliminated. "Although the Kuwaiti government has standing contracts with extramural hospitals in the gulf, they do not plan to fund such medical care for non-citizens."

Non-citizens comprised over sixty percent of the Kuwaiti population, but they are not the only sector to be deprived. "Even Kuwaiti citizens may not receive timely care, because the plans call for ... only 150 patients per day."

"To restore and maintain security in liberated Kuwait, the report calls for the creation of a Kuwaiti security force of up to 10,000." U.S. military and security forces will be required "in the intermediate term as well."

During an "emergency phase," all residents of Kuwait will be issued identity cards and screened for interrogation. Camps will be built "to segregate prisoners of war, Iraqis and other 'potential terrorists'." But even after this emergency period, the report states that the Kuwaiti government will "impose martial law using emergency legislation, for

impossible to intervene everywhere so intervention depended upon locating a relatively restricted area which, if effectively controlled would contain a sufficient portion of present world oil production and proven reserves to break the present price structure by breaking the core of the cartel, politically and economically.

Tucker identified this convenient area as "the Arab shoreline of the Gulf; a new El Dorado waiting for its conquistadores."

"The one area that would satisfy these requirements extends from Kuwait down along the coastal region to Qatar. It is this mostly shallow coastal strip less than 400 miles long that provides forty percent of OPEC production (over fifty percent of total OPEC reserves). Since it has no substantial centers of population and is without trees, its effective control does not bear even remote comparison with the experience of Vietnam."

The two problems to solve, were acquiescence of the U.S. public, which was unwilling to countenance more Vietnams and an arrangement with Soviet rulers.

Harper's magazine published an analysis called "Seizing Arab Oil" by Miles Ignotus, identified as a Pentagon consultant with intimate links to high-level U.S. policy makers." What was set forth in 1975 was a blueprint for Operation Desert Shield:

"We developed a rapid deployment and strike scenario. The 82d Airborne Division, strengthened by two air-cavalry battalions, would embark on giant C-5 and C-141 jet transports, refuel at Israeli bases and proceed to drop paratroopers at key Saudi oil fields, installations and airports. Escort would be provided by Phantom fighters based on Israeli fields or aboard carriers in the Arabian Sea. The airborne division would pave the way for large Marine contingents who would arrive on the scene seventy-two hours later."

It is interesting to note the Pentagon's attitude towards the sacred sovereignty of Kuwait.

"There is a role for the shah to play. He would be asked, discreetly, to 'protect' Kuwait — and incidentally, appropriate their oil."

That this was not mere speculation was confirmed by the *London Sunday Times* on February 9, 1975:

"The U.S. National Security Council has compiled a detailed review of a top-secret Department of Defense plan to invade Saudi Arabian oil fields."

"The plan, code-named Dhahran Option Four, has been drawn up by the Pentagon and provides for a U.S. attack on the oil field of Ghawar, which contains forty percent of the world's known oil reserves."

"The attack would be led by nine airborne infantry battalions based in North Carolina, which would be flown under escort to Dhahran in the Gulf by way of the Israeli air base at Hatzorim. The infantry battal-

ions would seize the oil field at Dhahran, evacuate U.S. personnel, and move inland to Chawar after capturing landing jetties and storage tanks at Ras Tanura. They would be joined three days later by a Marine division of some 14,000 men who would be sent to the Gulf by sea."

In August 1975 "Oil Fields As Military Objectives: A Feasibility Study" was published. It was prepared jointly by Col. John Collins, senior specialist in national defense with eighteen years experience in contingency planning in the Pentagon, and by Clyde Mark, analyst for the House Committee on International Relations. The study was a minute analysis and documentation of the requirements and costs of military intervention in several specific locations.

"This included general geography (space relationships, topography, water resources, climate, vegetation and people [sic]; the 'petroleum production plant' (oil fields, terminals and control facilities); 'lines of communication' (sea, air and land LOCs, involved both to and within the 'Saudi Core') and 'critical terrain' (i.e. the key well-heads, choke points, terminal facilities, pumping installations and bases.) There is a detailed mapping of military, naval and air force requirements as well as civilian contingents needed to restore and operate the 'Saudi Core.'"

Longstanding Invasion Plans

These preparations were the refinement of plans made and routinely adjusted since 1964.

On August 25, 1977, President Carter issued a secret presidential directive, PD-18, calling for the preparation of an adequate strike force of several divisions capable of "rapid intervention in the Middle East, especially in the oil-producing areas of the Gulf."

Indeed, the United States carefully prepared the total replacement of the Saudi monarchy and the Gulf rulers, with what seemed to the planners of the day, a more reliable figure. Sen. Henry Jackson, chairperson of the Senate Committee on Energy and Natural Resources, prepared a secret report in December 1977. It called upon the U.S. to support the shah of Iran in an invasion of Saudi Arabia:

"It must be recognized in advance by the United States that this is the role for which Iran is being primed and blame cannot be assigned for Iran's carrying out an assignment." ("Access to Oil — The United States Relationships with Saudi Arabia and Iran," U.S. Senate Committee on Energy, December 1977).

On June 4, 1978, Admiral Thomas Moorer, chairperson of the Joint Chiefs of Staff from 1970 to 1974, called for "deployment of two carrier forces to the Eastern African littoral and Arabian Sea conducting selected exercises inside the Gulf."

In late 1978, a comprehensive study was prepared by the Brookings Institution with a detailed analysis of the frequency of U.S. military

lives in Brooklyn. "The U.S. Army and the enemy. We are 10,000 miles from home. We have no say in what we do. We have lost our rights. As far as most of us are concerned, we are prisoners."

The article makes very clear that the Black soldiers on the front line were actively opposed to the war with a clear awareness of the economic and class issues involved. "The soldiers, who have an average age of forty-three and many of whom are New York City police officers, firefighters and Transit Authority Workers, have little empathy for the war. 'This war seems to me like a personal vendetta between Bush and Saddam Hussein,' said Specialist Hope. L. Scott, who is from Harlem. 'Let them fight it out. I don't think we should be here.'"

"The war is over oil," said Sgt. William A. Pace, forty-nine, of the Bronx, "and I'm not going to get any of it or any more money from it. Most of us are too old to be out here crawling around in the mud under fire for this."

Soldier after soldier conveys the same message. "The reality has been far different from what they expected. 'Since we arrived, it has been one lie after another,' said Sgt. Mario Rodriguez, a thirty-nine-year-old Vietnam veteran who was wounded three times."

The conclusions drawn by the Black soldiers and by the article itself are instructive: "I was in the Army back in 1958," Sergeant Williams said. "It was a Jim Crow Army then. We had a Black water fountain and a Black USO. I get the same feeling being over here. There is no one to speak up for us. We're being kicked around."

Other soldiers expressed the same view. "'They want us to die like soldiers,' said Sgt. Donald C. Ingram, 'but they treat us like children.'"

As the "war aims" of the "coalition" became manifest, the "world order" on whose behalf the slaughter was unleashed emerged as well.

A "Liberated" Kuwait?

Martin Tolehin disclosed in the *New York Times* (December 30, 1990) that the wealth of the Kuwaiti rulers exceeded all previous official estimates:

"The estimate may be low, but the vast overseas property holdings and \$2.8 trillion [emphasis added] deposited in foreign bank accounts mean that the government in exile is unlikely to have any problem paying for the rebuilding, whatever the cost."

The plans were being worked out. "Behind an unmarked door in an office building five blocks from the White House, more than one hundred Kuwaiti bureaucrats are devising a master plan. ... They are working closely with American officials and businessmen, under the supervision of Sheikh Ali al-Khalifa al-Sabah, the exile government's finance minister."

began an attack with salvos of 'Willy Peter,' white phosphorous incendiary rounds that send burning particles deep into skin and bone. It then followed with shells containing 'Bouncing Betty' anti-personnel grenades. These hit the ground, hop into the air and explode at stomach level. 'Gut rippers,' they're called.

"'Jesus God,' said Cpl. Lee Welverton, of Enterprise, Alabama 'Jesus God, have pity on their souls. You can't help but remember those are human beings under that firestorm.'"

The contrast between the human response of the soldiers and that of their commanders is revealed by *Los Angeles Times* reporter John Balzar: "Marine commanders express a more cold-eyed view of the bombing and shelling.... 'The B-52 is a confidence builder,' said Marine Maj. Charles Clarke, 'When you hear the bombs go off and feel the ground shake, you know ... they are doing hurt to the enemy.'"

"I Don't Think We Should Be Here"

Front line troops were drawn from the working poor, and reports disclosed that the percentage of Blacks was huge — as high as sixty percent in many key units. Their treatment belied the crude "photo opportunities," with Gen. H. Norman Schwarzkopf slapping the backs of individual soldiers and signing autographs.

The account by Chris Hedges (*New York Times*, February 22, 1991) carried the headline "Troops: Harlem's Guard Troops Complain of 'Treatment'" and depicted a pervasive racism, Black defiance and an army reflective of the realities of U.S. society as opposed to the "pre-tend-world" of reports provided by the military command.

"Members of the Harlem Hell Fighters, one of the country's oldest and most renowned Black National Guard units, say it has been broken up, stripped of much of its equipment and moved into front-line positions without proper preparation or training."

The National Guardsmen were from the 369th Transport Battalion. Over fifty percent had been in Vietnam and most were over forty. The Army battalion, however, did not "respect their experience, age or professional status."

"'We have three strikes against us,' said Specialist Ruben O. McCann, a postal worker from the Bronx who served for two years in Vietnam. 'We are from the Guard, we are from New York and we are Black.' Morale in the unit has plummeted as many say they intend to resign from the National Guard when they return to New York."

"'We feel like outcasts,' said Sgt. Franklin D. Williams, a fifty-year-old retired police officer who has a son serving in the Persian Gulf. 'All we are waiting for now is to go home.'"

The bitterness of the Black soldiers was pervasive. "'We are out here fighting two armies,' said Cpl. Theo H. Lewis, a Vietnam veteran who

interventions between 1946 and 1975. Entitled euphemistically "Force Without War: U.S. Armed Forces as a Political Instrument," the study was prepared for the Defense Department's Advance Research Projects Agency. It revealed 215 times between 1946 and 1975 "in which the armed forces were used in a discrete way for specific political objectives."

It also documented that "U.S. threats to utilize the strategic nuclear arsenal were made nineteen times."

U.S. armed forces were utilized an average of 7.2 times a year between 1946 and 1975 and once a month from 1956 to 1965.

The study concluded:

"As the Vietnam War fades from the nation's consciousness ... voices urging a more active U.S. role are being heard more clearly, particularly as the international system presents a large number of 'opportunities.'"

Analyst William O'Brien in his position paper on U.S. Military Intervention reached the same conclusion in his recommendations:

"Today we are on the brink of emergence from a period of reaction against military intervention. The need to reconsider military interventionary options, notably in the Middle East, is increasingly urged in American national security debates."

By 1979, with the shah no longer around to serve as a viable surrogate, Lawrence Moshier formulated the plan circulating "in many Washington corridors." It disclosed:

"... what military people call the U.S. 100,000 man Quick Strike Force, which consists of three divisions rapidly deployable anywhere by air. But, as one Defense official said: 'One needs a real bogeyman to come in and have to be stopped before you can talk of using the Quick Strike Force.' It may turn out that that bogeyman may not be defined the same in Arabic as in English." (published in *Middle East International*, January 19, 1979)

Saddam Hussein is only the latest figure groomed for his long prepared role. Many have been first used before being measured for their fate.

In 1982, a remarkable document was published in the journal of the Department of Information of the World Zionist Organization. Its author, Oded Yinon was formerly attached to the Foreign Ministry and "reflects high level thinking in the Israeli military and intelligence establishments."

This document, entitled "A Strategy For Israel in the 1980s," revives the plans of former Foreign Minister Abba Eban of Israel to reconstruct the millet system of the Ottoman Empire in the Middle East. Each Arab country would be fragmented in turn and broken into administrative units based upon ethnic communities. "The Moslem

arsenal disperse a highly volatile mist over a large area. When this cloud is ignited in a second explosion, the resulting blast packs nearly the wallop of a small nuclear device. The bombs suck up oxygen, pulling the lungs and organs ... out of the [victims'] bodies. ... Another advantage [sic] is that while the force of a conventional [emphasis added] explosion decreases rapidly as one moves away from the center of the blast, the concussion of a fuel-air device is evenly distributed."

Associated Press accounts confirm that this weaponry was used from the inception of the war in Baghdad. "The blackout of Baghdad began with gossamer falling from the sky. ... The result left this city of some 4 million people without electricity and facing at least three years of reconstruction to repair a few moments of damage."

Describing the devastation of the Doura power plant in south Baghdad, Zouheir Abdul-Hadi "showed reporters handfuls of an unknown shiny, gossamer-like material that allied planes apparently dumped. The Iraqis didn't know what the material was."

This black gossamer volatile mist was used throughout Baghdad, incinerating sectors of the city and destroying its capacity to supply electricity, heat and water to the inhabitants in the course of devastating civilian neighborhoods. "North of Baghdad, some type of bomb apparently caused the gossamer to explode."

Another of the chemical weapons used against both civilians and the Iraqi infantry was an updated version of napalm. As described by *Time* the napalm bombs used "produce a hellish inferno burning up everything," clinging to the skin of its victims and searing them into an unrecognizable mass. (Ibid.)

Under the heading "Weapons," Malcolm W. Browne's account in the *New York Times* (February 23, 1991), is equally graphic:

"Napalm's formula is simple but its properties are lethal. The substance, renamed 'Incendigel' by the military ... burns with intense heat and it sticks to anything it touches ... causing terrible casualties. Even when used in the proximity of intended targets, 'one of its chief values ... is its ability to deplete the air of oxygen. A wave of napalm-fueled fire ... can remove so much oxygen from the air that the victims suffocate. ... Some opponents of its use have argued that napalm should be classified as a chemical weapon and banned.'"

Chemicals such as white phosphorous were used in abundance, in bombs and in artillery shells. The substance can not be extinguished. Water only accelerates its properties, which eat flesh and bone.

Apart from chemical weapons — such as fuel-ignition weapons, white phosphorous and napalm — U.S. military commanders experimented with "implosion" weapons, high-flaring magnesium bombs and vacuum bombs over Iraqi cities. These weapons cause air to rush in and then out with such force that structures disintegrate.

by U.S. "specialists."

"If any political change takes place, it's going to be bloody because there are so many old scores to settle," said one U.S. official in the region."

The article spells out certain arrangements which are being made at the present time. It is less clear what Syria and Iran want in the event that the power vacuum opens in Baghdad, experts say. "This whole thing has put a gleam in Iran's eye," said one Iranian expert.

A similar scenario was discussed in the *New York Times* by Clyde Haberman on September 20, 1990:

"If there are profound changes in the Middle East map, Turkey will be present at the discussions," said Kamran Inan, a cabinet minister. 'Naturally, this can not be done behind our backs.'"

Ercan Vuralhan, former defense minister and a member of parliament from the ruling Motherland Party stated:

"Without Turkey, you cannot establish a successful Western position in the Middle East."

The article cites other Turks who "go so far as to demand that they win back Iraq's northern provinces of Kirkuk and Mosul, rich in oil, which they regard as having been unfairly lost in the re-parceling of former Ottoman lands in the 1920s."

Turkey, the article makes clear "remained a pivotal component of Western strategy" and amassed 100,000 men on the Iraqi border.

William Safire takes up the theme:

"When the war begun on August 2 is over, new boundaries will be drawn, as usual, to penalize the aggressor. Oil reserves should be shared among an independent Kurdistan, a helpful Turkey, a free Iraq and those nations which sacrificed most." (*New York Times*, November 1, 1990)

Soviet Complicity

Throughout the nearly thirty years of preparation for direct U.S. intervention in the Gulf, the role of the Soviet Union was viewed as a critical factor in facilitating U.S. plans.

Under the heading, "U.S. Officials Satisfied With Soviet's Gulf Role," the *New York Times* disclosed (September 20, 1990) that "ten days after the summit meeting in Helsinki, Bush officials are satisfied with Soviet cooperation in isolating Iraq."

There has been strategic planning between the Soviet Union, the United States and Israel.

"U.S. officials noted with particular enthusiasm the warming in Moscow's relationships with Israel and Saudi Arabia. 'We've been

exceptionally pleased with the Soviet role,' said a senior State Department official. 'Without the current Soviet position, the whole color of the gulf problem would be totally different!'"

U.S. officials noted with particular approval the visit to Moscow by Israeli Cabinet Minister Ariel Sharon "for several days last week."

Michael Mandelbaum, director of East-West studies at the Council of Foreign Relations revealed that "the Soviet Union had done much since the summit meeting, besides restoring relations with Saudi Arabia. The most important contribution the Soviets have made is ... that for the first time in forty years, we can conduct military operations in the Middle East without worrying about triggering World War III."

On October 28 the *Los Angeles Times* carried a further story about a meeting between Soviet President Mikhail S. Gorbachev and Spanish Prime Minister Felipe Gonzalez.

"The Soviet leader left no doubt about his condemnation of the Iraqi aggression. ... 'We must maintain firmness he said.'"

Gorbachev made a particular point of establishing himself as the complete lieutenant of U.S. policy.

"There is no need to panic. The alliance against Iraq is controlling the situation. Saddam Hussein is not going to divide us. If he thinks like this, he is very wrong. We are not going to give up on our principles on this issue."

After receiving a \$1.5 billion loan from Spain, Gorbachev informed the assembled Spanish journalists:

"In the last five years, we have started a process of change that has taken other countries centuries to accomplish.

"We have to change our way of life, our economic system, our political processes, and to make these changes, we have to change ourselves."

The next day he announced a series of economic measures sharply devaluing the ruble and allowing "one hundred percent foreign ownership of companies in the Soviet Union" as part of "his plan to convert this nation of 285 million residents to a market based economy over a period of two years."

The pending war in the Middle East is directly linked to the alliance between the Soviet leadership and U.S. rulers. It becomes clear with every day that passes that the captains of capital have extended their global reach.

The worldwide resistance to the pending slaughter will not fail to challenge the right to rule of Bush and Gorbachev, whose predatory role will emerge as readily as the corrupt feudal emirs and sheikhs they would maintain in power.

October 1990

bardment has turned to ... anger. The majority of Iraqis ... blame the allies for a war that they believe ... is aimed ... at punishing Iraq for growing too powerful militarily and economically. And clearly, after watching every modern institution around them crushed by bombs, most Iraqis are increasingly convinced of what they dare not speak aloud — that Iraq will lose much of [its] recent strides toward modernization."

Fineman's interviews with survivors of the rocket destruction of the Adhemeya district of Baghdad and of "a group of civilian houses" is compelling. "After the attack, Hassan Bayaji, an Iraqi in his mid-forties whose sister's home had just been destroyed ... said he had helped sift through the rubble for casualties. 'They were shattered into pieces. They were not whole corpses.'"

Bayaji made a comparison of the war waged by Iran with that of the United States. "It is very different. ... They used to hit military targets, not civilians. ... Now it is something different. They don't give you a chance to breathe. ... Ten people were killed in that quarter, fourteen over there. They are not soldiers. They have nothing to do with the fighting. They are just the inhabitants of Baghdad."

The war in the Gulf has now placed U.S. troops in southern Iraq, sitting astride the Rumaila oil reserve. U.S. officials openly and brazenly assert that they will hold it hostage to extract "reparations" from Iraq for the destruction resulting from the war, destruction overwhelmingly the result of the most massive aerial bombardment in history, enailing, as indicated, more explosive tonnage in four weeks over Iraq and Kuwait than in the entirety of World War II.

Chemical, Experimental Weaponry

The specific weaponry unleashed upon the population centers of Iraq was devastating. The meaning of tonnages which exceed seven years of bombing throughout Europe and Asia is difficult to grasp. It was not just the vast amount of explosives but their concentration in a space of four weeks over a small country's civilian centers.

This bombing, moreover, was in essence chemical, experimental and designed for human flesh. In fact, a central feature of the wilful deception of the public by the U.S. military was the attribution to the Iraqis of the precise behavior used by the U.S. command. Not only were chemical weapons not used by Iraq but, during U.S. military briefings, it was admitted by Gen. Thomas Kelly that neither chemical weapons nor the systems for delivery were found in Iraqi bunkers or among Iraqi troops.

The character and the impact of the weaponry deployed by the U.S. military commanders was described by *Time* (February 25, 1991): "Fuel-air explosives, the deadliest non-nuclear bombs in the allied

"Typical of the eyewitness accounts of the devastation of Basra ... is that of Anil Kumar Bansal, an Indian civil engineer:

"I have seen so many bombs dropping with my own eyes. Stones and smoke were going up like the blasting of a volcano. They have totally demolished communications centers, all refineries, all important buildings. They're now attacking mainly sheds, big warehouse sheds ... with food grains. Now, Basra is fully under clouds of smoke. Since the last three or four days, we have not seen sunshine, no sunshine there, only clouds of smoke and, all around, refineries are on fire."

Fineman's report leaves no doubt that it was the civilian population and the entire social and economic infrastructure of Iraq which had been targeted for destruction and that the impact on the Arab world has been dramatic.

"We Were in the Fourteenth Century"

Five days later, on February 10, 1991, Fineman filed another story under the headline "Baghdad's Anguish and Anger Grow: As Civilian Deaths Mount, So Does Belief That Allies Want To Destroy Iraq."

The story read:

"For the past two weeks in Baghdad, Dr. Rizek Jabr abu Kashef has performed major surgery by candlelight. He has amputated legs of children without painkillers or blood transfusions. He has watched others die from infections for want of antibiotics or clean water for rehydration. In his spare time, the Red Crescent surgeon read by candlelight about how to treat wounds from chemical and nuclear weapons. ... Such is life in besieged Baghdad.

"The whole time, I am thinking we were in the fourteenth century. ... There are not sufficient X-ray films or blood-typing kits to diagnose patients before surgery. There are no telephones, no electricity, no water — even for scrubbing before surgery — and the air-raid alarm is continuous, all day, all night, every day and every night."

"Abu Kashef's account of life in Iraq is just one of more than a dozen reports from foreign doctors, journalists and Iraqis who have emerged recently. Together they have described the human impact in recent days of the most massive, continuous air assault on a nation. ... The accounts continued to indicate that the relentless bombardments have claimed an increasing number of civilian lives throughout Iraq.

"The bombing runs have demolished almost every communications center, every power station, most refineries, key bridges. ... The result has been to push Iraq back a century."

The perception by the Iraqi people of the real purpose of this genocidal onslaught is spelled out by Fineman:

"For most of bomb-weary Baghdad, the fear of ... weeks under bom-

Deceiving the American People: The Hidden Story of the Gulf War

Shortly before his assassination at the Audubon Ballroom in Harlem on February 21, 1965, the great African-American revolutionary Malcolm X addressed an audience about the then-crisis in the Congo, a crisis which bore striking similarities to events today in the Persian Gulf.

After Patrice Lumumba led his nation to independence and became its first prime minister, the Central Intelligence Agency engineered the severance of Katanga and Kasai, the two southernmost provinces of the Congo.

Katanga and Kasai contained some seventy-five percent of the industrial diamonds and eighty percent of the titanium, a metal vital to the Pentagon for missiles and attack aircraft. The detachment of these provinces was designed to destroy the Congolese independence movement and the local chieftain chosen for the job, Moises Tshombe, sought to strangle the economy of the new-born nation.

When Lumumba attempted to recover the two provinces by force, the United Nations was quickly brought into play by U.S. rulers, its armies facilitating the CIA's murder of Lumumba and the subsequent installation of Tshombe himself as head of state, not merely of Katanga and Kasai but of the entire Congo.

Reviewing the process through which the United Nations was deployed to provide cover for a brutal assault upon the people of the Congo, Malcolm told his audience:

"You have to have a knowledge of history. ... The thing that has made the so-called Negro in America fail, more than any other thing, is your/my lack of knowledge concerning history."

Without this, Malcolm warned, the press would deceive people and disarm them, demoralize them and deprive them of the knowledge without which they could not confront their oppressors:

"The press is so powerful in its image-making role, it can make a criminal look like he's the victim and make the victim look like he's the criminal. This is the press, an irresponsible press. ... If you aren't careful, the newspapers will have you hating the people who are being oppressed and loving the people who are doing the oppressing."

Some Essential Background

The crisis in the Gulf and the long-prepared war of attrition inflicted

upon the people and the nation of Iraq thus have been accompanied by an orchestrated campaign of deception and lies.

The seizure of Arab oil and the launching of a massive military assault upon the Gulf region had been prepared by the National Security Council of every U.S. administration since 1964. The Iranian Revolution of 1979 galvanized U.S. rulers and determined them to create a pretext for a World War II-scale mobilization and assault in the Middle East.

Pentagon analyst Lawrence Mosher described the strategy of the Carter administration on January 19, 1979, in a paper titled "After Iran, U.S. Its Own Policeman":

"What military people call the U.S. 100,000-man Quick Strike Force ... consists of three divisions rapidly deployable anywhere by air. But, as one Defense official said, 'One needs a real bogeyman to come in and have to be stopped before you can talk of using the Quick Strike Force.' It may turn out that bogeyman may not be defined the same in Arabic as in English." (*Middle East International*, January 19, 1979).

Zbigniew Brzezinski, Carter's national security adviser, informed the Foreign Policy Association that "an arc of crisis ... along the shores of the Indian Ocean, with fragile social and political structures in a region of vital importance to the United States, was threatened with fragmentation." The "resulting chaos," he explained, "could work out to the advantage of elements hostile to the United States." (*New York Times*, January 7, 1979)

Brzezinski was seconded by Secretary of Defense James Schlesinger, who stated, "The United States will have to take steps to shore up the nations around the Gulf" (*Wall Street Journal*, January 18, 1979). Within weeks of these declarations, Brzezinski was meeting Saddam Hussein in Kuwait, together with the emir of Kuwait and a representative of King Fahd of Saudi Arabia. A secret plan was prepared wherein Iraq would attack Iran and detach its oil-producing province of Khuzistan.

Just as Katanga and Kasai had been first severed from the Congo, preparatory to destroying Congolese independence, so the Iranian Revolution was to be strangled through the seizure of its oil, thereby protecting the feudal regimes of the oil-rich Gulf with their "fragile social and political structures", i.e., people seeing with hatred for the corrupt ruling royal families.

A savage irony of these imperial schemes lay in the fact that Kuwait had been severed from Iraq by British colonialism for the same reasons that Saddam Hussein was induced to attack Iran — in order to amputate Iran's own oil district on the sea, exactly as Kuwait had been severed from Iraq. Indeed, every Iraqi regime, from 1890 until the advent of the regime of Saddam Hussein, had sought to recover Kuwait.

the war in Vietnam, a minimum number of 50,000 civilian dead in Iraq were indicated.

The military censorship imposed upon a largely servile press has been totalitarian in dimension. The *Los Angeles Times* reported on February 27, 1991, that journalists were obliged, literally, to put their names on "disinformation," in the form of dispatches prepared by the military command in Saudi Arabia, filing these as "independent" reports.

Some Stories Get Past Censors

Despite this pattern, however, some reporters managed to file and publish stories which revealed the full horror of this wild destruction of the infrastructure of Iraqi society. Mark Fineman's account in the *Los Angeles Times* of February 5, 1991, under the heading "Refugees From Iraq Describe Hellish Scenes," bears out the estimates of civilian dead in the European press:

"The massive allied bombardment of the Iraqi city of Basra has demolished every communications center ... all major oil refineries, most government buildings, ... civilian neighborhoods and hundreds of ... food warehouses according to eyewitnesses.

"The result: a hellish nightmare of fire and smoke so dense that ... the sun hasn't been visible for days at a time. In the besieged capital of Baghdad ... air strikes continue ... for the second and third time, smashing key installations ... leveling entire city blocks in civilian neighborhoods. The result: bomb craters the size of football fields and an untold number of casualties.

"Throughout war-torn Iraq, there is little water to drink, no civilian communications, intermittent power only from portable generators. ... For drinking, residents are collecting rainwater from ponds and bomb craters and filtering it through shreds of cloth.

"These are the images of the human and structural damage inflicted by the most massive aerial bombardment of a nation since the U.S. carpet-bombing raids on North Vietnam more than two decades ago.

"These accounts, backed by hours of videotape footage, ... confirm Iraqi claims that the allied bombing has taken a heavy toll on civilian neighborhoods in Iraq's major towns and cities. ... In the videotapes are dozens of images of civilian casualties: limbs protruding from piles of residential rubble, dolls strewn atop twisted furniture in what clearly were once homes; bloodied civilians with shrapnel wounds being rushed into hospital emergency rooms; blanket-covered corpses on sidewalks; crumpled swing sets in battered playgrounds."

Fineman interviewed a series of eyewitnesses whose accounts are so detailed and compelling as to leave little doubt of the Dresden-scale character of the destruction:

mained in the bombardment were predominantly civilian.

An Orwellian Euphemism

The *Newark Sunday Star-Ledger* (February 24, 1991) ran a revealing story under the headline "Ground war strategy drawn up long before Persian Gulf crisis erupted." The article reveals: "Long before Operation Desert Storm entered the land phase, the American plan for a ground war was in place." Prepared in detail in 1974, refined in 1977 and placed "on call" after the Iranian Revolution, the story discloses that "Everybody who's in any way involved has trained at Fort Irwin" and that "biannual maneuvers in the Egyptian desert called 'Bright Star'" had rehearsed a massive U.S. invasion of Saudi Arabia preparatory.

Similarly, the *Los Angeles Times* (November 24, 1990) disclosed that "two weeks before the invasion ... Schwarzkopf convened his top commanders [and] simulated exactly ... the Iraqi attack on Kuwait. The similarities were eerie ... when the real thing came, the only way they could tell the real intelligence from the practice intelligence was the little 't' in the corner, 't' for training."

In the first four weeks of the aerial assault upon Iraq, more tonnages were dropped than during the entire Second World War. Iraq is a small country of 17 million people, its population relatively concentrated. The ferocity of the saturation bombing of its major cities was of such intensity that planes had to circle, on hold and unable to find space in skies more congested than those over Los Angeles airport in which to run their bombing patterns. The sorties followed every fifteen minutes, totaling some 100,000. Yet the U.S. military maintained and the press reported that civilian casualties were incidental — "collateral damage," in the Orwellian euphemism of the Pentagon.

Mohammed Taghi Moudarressi, a member of the opposition in Iraq and in no way a supporter of Sadaam Hussein, disclosed in Damascus that the number of victims in the non-stop bombing of Iraq had "surpassed 100,000 in four days of war."

Similar figures were affirmed by Manfred Opel, a deputy in the German Bundestag for the Social-Democratic Party of the Federal Republic and, moreover, a former Army Air Force general: "The air raids over Iraq," declared Opel, "have resulted already in 100,000 dead in greater Baghdad and over 300,000 in the country in its entirety."

Opel stated that he had obtained confirmatory information for these figures "from American military experts." They were cited by *Agence France Presse*, the principal French news agency, on January 23, 1991.

The Nobel prize-winning chemist Linus Pauling calculated that on the basis of the most conservative estimates, guided by the ratio of tonnages to casualties established in World War II, the Korean War and

As Wilbur Eveland documented in his book, *Ropes of Sand*, Saddam Hussein came to *de facto* power in Iraq as an agent of the CIA through the assassination of the Iraqi president, Abdul Karim Qassim. Qassim had sought to recover Kuwait, as had each of his predecessors dating back to the Ottoman Empire.

It was only after Saddam Hussein's war against Iran, a war ordered by Brzezinski, had failed to destroy the Iranian Revolution — in the course of which the United States, the Kuwaiti emir and the Saudi king had financed the war and armed Iraq — that Iraq itself was targeted by the United States.

The head of the CIA, William Webster, met with the emir of Kuwait in Washington in mid-November 1989. They agreed to "take advantage of the deteriorating economic structure in Iraq." (*Los Angeles Times*, December 2, 1990) At the onset of the Iraqi invasion of Iran, Iraq had \$40 billion in hard currency reserves. By the end of the war, Iraq's economy was laid low and the regime was \$100 billion in debt — to the emir of Kuwait, King Fahd of Saudi Arabia and to the U.S. and European banks.

Having initiated a war at the behest of the United States to preserve the corrupt feudal regimes of the Gulf from growing radicalization inspired by the Iranian Revolution, notably among the predominantly Shi'a population of the Gulf, these very regimes undertook a deliberate economic war against Iraq at the behest of the CIA.

Throughout the Iran-Iraq war, the emir of Kuwait, under CIA direction, had moved Kuwait's never-delineated and constantly floating border north, encompassing not only an additional 900 square miles of Iraqi territory but, in particular, a part of the Rumaila oil fields, the largest oil reserve in Iraq.

This entire scenario was confirmed by G. Henry M. Schuler, director of energy security programs for the Center for Strategic and International Studies in Washington (*Los Angeles Times*, November 5, 1990).

Having secretly set in motion a scheme to strangle Iraq's economy and seize its territory, the CIA now instructed the emir to purchase the Santa Fe Drilling Company of Alhambra, Calif., for \$2.3 billion, because of its horizontal drilling equipment. Kuwait now stole an additional \$14 billion of Iraq's oil. It was a plan prepared by George Bush's national security adviser, Brent Scowcroft, who was personally involved in the ownership of the Santa Fe Drilling Company.

"Green Light" to Invade Kuwait

The plot to ensnare a "bogyman who had to be stopped," in order to "scull" the American people on a massive U.S. invasion — of Saudi Arabia, Kuwait and Iraq itself — was now in place. First, U.S.

Ambassador to Iraq April Glaspie was directed by Bush and Secretary of State James Baker to instruct Saddam Hussein directly that the United States had no objection to an Iraqi attack upon Kuwait.

Then, two days before Iraq entered Kuwait on August 2, 1990, Asst. Secretary of State John Kelly informed the House Foreign Affairs Subcommittee that the United States would not come to Kuwait's aid if it were attacked by Iraq.

Rep. Lee Hamilton of Indiana, columnist James McCartney of the Washington Bureau of the Knight-Ridder syndicate, the *New York Daily News* and the *New York Times* all confirmed that George Bush had, with deliberation, given Saddam Hussein "the green light" to invade Kuwait.

The vast mobilization by the Bush regime of 500,000 U.S. troops in Saudi Arabia, an array of military might unprecedented since World War II, was based upon a huge fraud perpetrated upon the American people. The deception was part of an oft-repeated imperial patten, yet another "sting operation" by U.S. rulers.

The covert sinking by the United States of its own battleship, the *Maine*, attributing the attack to Spain, provided a pretext for the United States to invade and colonize Cuba—even as U.S. rulers seek today a pretext to overthrow the revolutionary government of Fidel Castro. When the Johnson administration carried out a secret attack upon Vietnamese ships in the Gulf of Tonkin, it was, equally, ascribed to North Vietnam, thereby providing deceitful cover for the U.S. massive invasion of Indochina.

Tom Wicker, writing in the *New York Times* (February 23, 1991) provided an apt description of the process:

"U.S. forces roll toward military victory over Iraq. ... When combat ultimately winds down, however, and patriotic fervor begins to fade, the U.S. public may recall two circumstances ... that helped bring on the Persian Gulf war. For ten long years before the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait, with Ronald Reagan in office for eight and George Bush for two, their administrations actively assisted ... Saddam Hussein in his war with Iran; ... in the last days before he attacked Kuwait last August, the Bush administration gave him a green light, by specifically informing him that the United States had no interest in Middle East border disputes." [emphasis added]

What Iraqi Military Build-Up?

Kuwait was described by the *New York Times* as "a family-owned oil company with a seat in the U.N." It has a population of 1.9 million, of which only 750,000 — the population of San Francisco — are citizens. The armed force required by Iraq to remove the emir was minimal. Part, however, of the scheme to present the American people with

a "bogyman who had to be stopped" was the fiction that Saddam Hussein had sent massive forces into Kuwait, numbering in the hundreds of thousands, with thousands of tanks, all poised on the border of Saudi Arabia ready to move on Riyadh.

In his "briefing," after the defeat of Iraq's armies, Gen. H. Norman Schwarzkopf, head of the U.S. Central Command, informed the press that the "coalition" forces of over 600,000 troops had, in fact, been outnumbered by the Iraqis and only "brilliant" flanking maneuvers, combined with relentless bombing of unprecedented intensity and extent, had permitted victory.

Indeed, the specter of a million "battle hardened" Iraqi troops with over 4000 tanks poised for attack had been orchestrated throughout the press of the world by both the Pentagon and the CIA.

A remarkable disclosure in *Newsweek* (December 3, 1990), revealed another dimension of the "sting operation" conducted by U.S. rulers. Under the headline "Exclusive: Where Are The Troops?", *Newsweek* began its article: "It's the case of the 'missing' military presence." Since Operation Desert Shield began, the article stated, the Pentagon had been giving "regular updates on Iraq's military buildup in Kuwait."

In late August, the Pentagon claimed there were "150,000 troops and up to 1500 tanks" in Kuwait. By mid-September, the numbers were increased to "265,000 Iraqi troops and 2200 tanks." The article reveals, however, that a set of five Soviet satellite pictures of eastern Kuwait and southern Iraq "show little or no Iraqi military presence." [emphasis added]

ABC News purchased the photos from the Soviet commercial satellite agency Soyuz-Karta, but found them "so bewildering, it won't air them." Experts, Peter Zimmerman of the U.S. Arms Control Agency of the Reagan administration and a photo analyst for the Defense Intelligence Agency, were asked secretly by ABC to analyze the photographic evidence.

"When the pair looked at the shots, they were astounded. 'We both turned to each other and we both said, "There's nothing there",' Zimmerman recalls. They found no trace of an Iraqi military presence anywhere in Kuwait. In fact, all they could see, in crystal-clear detail, was the U.S. buildup in Saudi Arabia." [emphasis added]

This revelation makes clear why Schwarzkopf could not account for the "huge numbers of soldiers killed, approaching 150,000" or explain where or how they had been buried. Nor could the claim of 80,000 Iraqi prisoners be sustained. Television news never showed such numbers. Photos of burned-out tanks on television depicted four and five at a time, rendering the U.S. claim of "3500 tanks" destroyed hard to sustain. Evidence indicates that the vast number of Iraqis killed and